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VOLUME V.

Olshausen's Commentary on the Gospels,
VOL. I.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED THE SAME AUTHOR'S

Proof of the Genuineness of the New Testament Writings.

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MDCCCXLVII.

BIBLICAL COMMENTARY
ON
THE GOSPELS,

ADAPTED ESPECIALLY FOR

PREACHERS AND STUDENTS.

BY

HERMANN OLSHAUSEN, D.D.,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ERLANGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES,

BY

DR SERGIUS LOEWE,
AUTHOR OF "A CRITICAL LIFE OF FR. VON SCHILLER," ETC.

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(RECAP)

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1687

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EDINBURGH :
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE Author of the present Commentary belongs to that class of men, whom a wise Providence raises from time to time, to declare to the world that *Religion* is no empty sound, and that the Christian religion is least so. It is well for the just cause, that while it is defended by Hilax and Likodes,¹ whereby it frequently becomes the victim of the zeal of both parties, men inspired by God, and penetrated by the Divine truths contained in his holy word, should come forward, and rescue it from the hand of its would-be defenders. Such a man is, or rather was, Dr *Hermann Olshausen*. Remarkable for his extensive learning, sincere and heartfelt belief in the Saviour of mankind, this illustrious writer occupied no mean position in the present orthodox school of Germany. Like *Tholuck* and others, he was conspicuous in the sphere of German research and learning. Nor was Germany blind to his merits. He had, and still has, a great number of admirers, or rather followers, who have contributed in a great measure to his universal celebrity. But, he lacked no opponents, if not declared enemies; and yet even these must admit that he was distinguished for extraordinary talents, for a right cultivation of them, and for an incessant activity to benefit the church of Christ. A rare moveableness and restlessness of mind, the greatest and most wonderful powers to express the most varied frames of his mind, an eagle eye capable of penetrating into the deepest recesses of truth, exquisite language, and a rare productive talent, so that even the most insignificant subject assumes in his hands a pleasing and interesting form,—are but a few of those traits that distinguish our commentator. With the foregoing he combines a predilection for assimilating and using

¹ Das beschützte Lamm (the protected lamb). A Fable; by J. C. E. Lessing.

whatever is most remote and most uncommon, a rich vein of wit and humour, which, although very frequently suppressed, is, nevertheless, too apparent in all his writings, and which is invariably directed against the so-called Rationalists and Supra-Rationalists, such as *Strauss*, *Paulus*, and others. This the attentive reader will have occasion to observe throughout the present volume. With a mind rarely surpassed in multifarious reading, Dr Olshausen was thoroughly master of the ancient, and most of the modern languages, among which are also many eastern ones, in all of which he wrote with ease and much grace. I have spoken of Olshausen as a writer; I shall now endeavour to point out briefly his tendencies and views as a divine.

Christianity with him, it would appear, had obtained a welcome reception after a long internal experience. With Olshausen the knowledge of sin is the pivot round which moves all the rest; accordingly, a redemption from sin is necessary; but this cannot be obtained or earned by sinful man himself, nor in truth is it easily attained at all. Redemption, according to his views, comes from above, it is an act of divine grace, and may be recognised by the fruit it bears. Blessings from above, experienced inwardly, tend with him to confirm him more and more in his view of the great fact of redemption through divine mercy; and although the existence of phenomena, apparently inexplicable, would lead astray a feebler and stronger mind, yet, with him it tends not only not to turn him from his preconceived notions, but, on the contrary, to attract him towards the Redeemer, and to confirm him more and more in his real and absolute existence.

As far as his speculative views are concerned, we may safely say that *Olshausen*, viewing every system of philosophy as "*Zeitsphilosophie*," belongs to no school whatever; the *only* thing that might perhaps be said of him is, that he appropriated to himself from every school whatever appeared to him as being of use in an apologetic point of view. Like *Tholuck*, he admits, (although tacitly) that theology or Christian truth cannot well be separated from science, i.e. philosophy; but he admits, in like manner, that he considers speculative dogmatics a mere "*Stück-*

werk," i.e. piece-meal work, whence he thinks himself justified to occupy opposite to science a free and independent position. Views such as these are impressed more or less on all his theological productions, and manifest themselves throughout the volume before us; and hence his declared aversion to all far-fetched notions, especially to those of the writers above referred to.

I have said that *Olshausen* has attained a universal celebrity. This is owing, in a great measure, to his admirable work, the *Biblical Commentary* now before the reader. With great acuteness of mind, the author therein combines immense learning, archæological research, depth of thought, great command of language, and, to crown the whole, a pure and child-like belief in the redeeming principle—Christ. This has been admitted even by some of the best theological writers of this country; among others, by Archdeacon Hare, the Rev. Rich. Chev. Trench, and the learned Professor of *Biblical criticism* in the Lancashire Independent College, the Rev. Dr S. Davidson. The Archdeacon, speaking of *Olshausen's Commentary*, says: "It is an admirable Commentary on the New Testament, a translation of which, if executed with intelligence and judgment, would be an inestimable benefit to the English student, nay, to every thoughtful reader. . . . It would be useful to all who desire to apprehend the meaning and spirit of the New Testament. . . . He has a deep intuition of spiritual truth, his mind being of the family of St Augustine's." Mr Trench, in his work on the Parables, calls this Commentary—"A most interesting and instructive work, to which he is very frequently indebted." And Dr Davidson, in a very able article of his¹ in *Kitto's Cyclopædia*, expresses himself as follows:—"The best example of commentary on the New Testament with which we are acquainted has been given by this writer. It is a model of exposition unrivalled in any language. Verbal criticism is but sparingly introduced, although even here the hand of a master is apparent. He is intent, however, on higher things. He in-

¹ S. *Kitto's Cyclopædia*, sub verb. *Commentary*.

vestigates the thoughts, traces the connection, puts himself in the same position as the writers, and views with philosophic ability the holy revelations of Christ in their comprehensive tendencies. The critical and the popular are admirably mingled."

With regard to myself as the translator of this work, I have to make a remark or two concerning the plan I have adopted. In imitation of my learned and amiable friend, the Rev. Dr S. Davidson just mentioned, whom I am justified to pronounce one of the best German scholars in the land, I have endeavoured to adhere rigidly to the original text. I have had to struggle, no doubt, with almost insurmountable difficulties in rendering it intelligible to the English reader. For, besides the elaborate and abstruse character of the work itself, the language is so expressive, and yet so concise, its genius so utterly at variance with that of the English tongue, and finally, the phrases are in many instances so complicated, that it would have deterred any one but a native of Germany from entering upon the task of rendering it into another language. Besides, I have endeavoured to give a correct, though very frequently a literal translation of the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and other words and passages therein contained, and as the original is not free from errata, so I have also compared almost every author, chapter and verse therein referred to, whereby errors of no slight character have thus been obviated. And in order that the reader might not be at a loss to understand many obscure passages occurring in the texts, I have added *Notes* from time to time, which are the result partly of my own experience and observations, and partly of an extensive and careful reading. Thus great exertion has been made to render the whole acceptable to the reader, who will be able to judge best how far I have succeeded in my hard and laborious enterprise.

P.S. The translator's distance from the press will satisfactorily account for any typographical and other errors that may have crept in inadvertently.

MANCHESTER, December 1846.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

BIBLICAL COMMENTARY.

THE plan and arrangement of this new edition of my Commentary are, notwithstanding numerous alterations and additions, essentially the same as those which pervaded the former, and thus I conceive I have hit the expedient best suited to our times. I consider my chief object to be (as on a former occasion I have said) to render prominent the internal unity of the whole New Testament, and of the Scriptures in general, and to present to the reader, by means of these expositions, the unity of that life and spirit which run through the sacred books. By a constant adherence to expositions emanating from other quarters, and also by a connection of polemics, having a tendency to, or being directed against, unchristian ends, is such an amalgamation with the spirit of the Bible as to be unbecoming and impracticable, since the current of the spirit thereby becomes exposed to constant interruptions. Expository lectures—for instance, such as expositions themselves, polemics, grammar, archæology, and history—are employed as subsidiary.

Hence it may naturally be supposed that I could take no notice, in this third edition, of such recent works as the “Life of Christ,” by *Strauss*, and the “Commentary,”

by *De Wette* (who professes to agree in principle with the former, but who desires that the application of his principle should be more limited, which is manifestly inconsistent, as has been fairly proved by *Strauss*. Comp. the *Berliner Jahrb.* 1837, pag. 1, sqq.), inasmuch as there exists a difference of principle between me and these authors. In places, however, wherein the same formed no matter for discussion, I have not left unnoticed even these writings, but, on the contrary, have used them in the same manner as I have used all those works that have a greater claim on my attention, and among which particular mention must be made of *Tholuck's* exegetical master-work of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, in order thus most impartially to obtain the purest conception of the sense of the Word of God. The writings of *Strauss* and *De Wette*, however, have but rarely contributed to my obtaining a correct insight even into the externals of Scripture, whereas I am, in every respect, exceedingly indebted to the work of *Tholuck*.

Besides, since the notorious work of *Strauss* attacks my Commentary in a fierce polemical manner, I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to explain my reasons for having maintained a silence notwithstanding these attacks. I resolved from the beginning to write a separate work against the same; from the execution of this design, however, I was deterred by a protracted illness. In the meanwhile there appeared so many works of refutation directed against *Strauss*, that I was utterly unable to write down my own ideas, inasmuch as every moment brought with it a book or pamphlet, treating now of one thing, and then of another, all of which, however, I had intended to treat of myself. For *Strauss*, on the contrary, there appeared not

a single work, and even in those few reviews which were in some measure favourable to him, there was not the least thing bearing a new aspect brought forward to confirm his views; in fact, all parties in the theological world seem to agree in the rejection of his book. Hence, matters have assumed such an appearance, that the danger arising from the book of *Strauss* may be considered, we trust, as far as theology is concerned, removed. In the lay world, however, the mischief thereby caused will be so much the greater. Of course we must not expect that in this struggle the operations and efforts of the human mind can remain indifferent or passive; for even if the inapplicability of the fabulous exposition of the New Testament be clearly proved, vigorous men will nevertheless soon arise who will call the courageous, daring *Strauss* a cowardly poltroon, a man full of superstitious notions, because he has not dared to speak out openly, but has only hinted, from time to time, that Christianity and the writings of the New Testament are, in his opinion, simply the productions of an extravagant enthusiasm, or, to speak more plainly, of a monstrous fraud. Like *Dr Paulus*, who, having proclaimed at the beginning his rationalistic views of the miracles performed by our Saviour amidst shouts of approbation, sees himself now sneered and laughed at by *Strauss*, his disciple, who, as it were, stands on his master's shoulders, the same will be the fate of this man and of his fabulous exposition. And if we err not in the critical examination of the signs of the time, *Strauss* will not require, like his predecessor, to attain the age of eighty in order to hear with his own ears his decided followers laugh him to scorn. The progress of the history of the world becomes more and more accelerated, the limbs of Antichrist extend mightily in the

womb of mankind, that being matured they may behold the approaching light of the world. May the church of Christ advance more and more to a self-knowledge so as to free itself from all Antichristian elements; and may the knowledge of Christ effectually guard itself against the inroads of that dangerous error, for assuredly excrescences of unbelief, such as is the received speculation of the fabulous character of the New Testament, belong not to the advancement of a just comprehension of the Gospel. Theology has to treat of such phenomena alone in an apologetical point of view, i.e. in prosecution of that discipline which guards the deportment of Christian knowledge against attacks from without. Specimens such as that now referred to can find no place in the interior of its sanctuary.

It is therefore with an apologetical view that I intend now to contribute somewhat to the refutation of these fabulous elements, in order to which I purpose to enter upon a new and comprehensive inquiry concerning the authenticity of the Gospels, to which I have been kindly invited by *Dr Thiele* of Leipzig in his last new work directed against *Strauss*. With the evidence, or proof that our canonical Gospels have been written by eye-witnesses of the events, the applicability of the fabulous view taken of the life of Christ falls to the ground, according to *Strauss's* own confession, in a manner the most sure and complete. To this revision and correction of my former work on the authenticity of the Gospels, I shall proceed (if God spare me) as soon as the printing of the third edition of the second volume shall be completed.

In conclusion, I beg to remark, that in order to limit somewhat of the too great bulk of this first volume, all

such passages as have been more amply treated of in the later volumes have been abbreviated. I trust, therefore, that this volume, notwithstanding the additions that have been made to it, will not be found to exceed the limits of former editions. I regret that an unavoidable journey to the watering-places for the recovery of my health has not permitted me, as heretofore, to superintend the correction of the proofs; I therefore solicit the reader's indulgence on account of any typographical errors.

THE AUTHOR.

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PROOF OF THE GENUINENESS
OF THE
WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT:
FOR INTELLIGENT READERS OF ALL CLASSES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
OF
DR H. OLSHAUSEN,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ERLANGEN, ETC.
WITH NOTES, BY
DAVID FOSDICK, JR.

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PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE author of the following treatise is known to those conversant with the theological literature of Germany, as a writer of considerable celebrity. He was born in 1796 at Oldeslohe in the Duchy of Holstein. He received his University education partly at Kiel and partly at Berlin. In 1822 he became theological professor at Königsberg, in the remotest north-eastern part of the Prussian dominions, where he remained till, in 1835, he was called to occupy the same chair at Erlangen in Bavaria. His fame has been derived mostly from his Commentaries, as being his most extensive productions. They are characterised by an almost utter absence of philological display, although they are far from being deficient in learning and shrewdness. The author prefers to exhibit results, rather than the processes by which they were attained. His mode of exposition is altogether more suited to common minds than the erudite, cumbrous mode pursued by most German commentators. To use the language of Professor Stuart, "the course of thought, and things rather than words, are his chief object."

The little work herewith given to the public in an English dress (published in German in 1832), is an attempt to present concisely and simply the present state of investigation concerning the genuineness of the New Testament. I do not know of a book upon the subject, in any language, which combines so popular a cast with so much comprehensiveness and justness of representation as are, in my opinion, manifested in this. The unlearned but inquisitive Christian may here find sources of reflection and conviction respecting the truth of the record on which he relies, that are not commonly accessible without the toil of severe study.

There will of course be found in the work a tone somewhat alien from our English views and feelings. Reference is had to religious circumstances differing in some important respects from our own. This peculiarity of tone, however, does not, in my opinion, involve anything of a clearly mischievous tendency. Its influence will, I think, be useful. It is well to enlarge our minds through an acquaintance with the sentiments entertained concerning religious things by men as fully imbued with the spirit of piety as ourselves, who have been nurtured in circumstances quite different from those by which we have been affected. By comparison and inference, in such a case, we may be much benefited.

I would not be understood as assenting, without restriction, to all the views which this little work presents. They may be right, or they may be wrong. I feel content to launch them before the public, knowing that if right they will swim, and if wrong they will eventually sink. Of this, however, I am fully convinced (as may be judged from the present version) that the book is in the main a good one; and I believe the public will endorse my opinion.

In proceeding with the business of translation, I have been guided by the sense rather than the letter. The grammatical construction of the original has been altered whenever it was thought advisable to alter it for the sake of rendering the sense more perspicuous and natural in English. I have in one or two instances ventured to qualify an expression which seemed to me too strong, but never in any case where the change was of much importance. For instance, I have altered *inconceivable* to *hardly conceivable*, &c. I have also, in a few cases, given biblical references in addition to those furnished by the author. Many of the figures in the original references were (typographically or otherwise) erroneous, and have been corrected. Biblical quotations are presented in conformity with our received English version, instead of being translated from the German.

The notes which I have subjoined are all designated by the letters Tr.

D. F., JR.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

SEVEN years ago, when I published my history of the Gospels, it was my earnest desire to show the genuineness of all the books of the New Testament, in a small work, designed for intelligent readers generally. But, urgent as the necessity of such a work appeared to me even then, the execution of my plan has been postponed to the present time; partly because I was hindered from entering upon it by multiplied avocations, and partly because I hoped some one would present himself who was more capable of such an undertaking than I felt myself to be. For I knew but too well how difficult it would be for me to write simply and plainly, so as to become even intelligible to those who are not conversant with investigations of such a description as must be noticed in this work. As, however, no one has yet appeared to present such a work to the church of Christ, and the necessity of it has meanwhile much increased, nothing remained for me but to surmount my scruples, and execute the work as well as the Lord might permit.

The necessity of such a work will have been evident to every one who has observed how certain positions as to the pretended spuriousness, or at least suspicious character, of the writings of the New Testament (positions which were formerly current only within the circle of the clergy), are now entertained among the common laity. It is easy to imagine the injury which is effected by such foolish opinions. To the audacious opponents of Divine truth they afford a fine occasion for repelling every attempt to win their assent to it; and well-meaning persons often find in them occasion of doubts and anxiety, which they might be spared, did they only at least receive the antidote at the same time with the poison. Such an antidote, to obviate, or at least lessen, the destructive consequences of the views of many theologians in regard to the biblical books (views which are diffused abroad

sometimes indiscreetly, and sometimes with a bad intention), I wish this little work to be considered.

It will, at the same time, be my endeavour to correct the views of many not very clear-sighted though well-meaning persons, who appear to think that all critical investigations of the genuineness or spuriousness of the books of the Bible are, as such, wrong, and take their origin from unbelief. This idea is fundamentally erroneous, and not seldom arises from a religious conceit, to which there is a special liability on the part of persons who, conscious of their own internal religious life, dispense with all enlarged views of the connection of theology with the whole church of God on earth, and nevertheless are tempted to judge of things beyond the pale of their capacity. It would have been better, therefore, had all such investigations been confined within the circle of theologians; but, as the doubts to which we have referred have been promulgated among the laity, their refutation must also find a place in general literature.

I should very readily have extended my investigations to the writings of the Old Testament; but have not, in the first place, because the results of researches in regard to the Old Testament are of a less stable character than in regard to the New; and, moreover, because those who are not theologians by profession have far less need of such information in regard to the Old Testament as is here given concerning the New, inasmuch as to Christians the testimony of Christ and his apostles respecting the Old Testament, the canon of which was then completed, affords a much more certain evidence of its Divine origin (and thus of its genuineness), than any historical reasoning could exhibit, especially since, from the paucity of sources of information, the latter could not be so satisfactory as it is in relation to the New Testament. As to unbelievers, it is of much greater consequence to urge the claims of the New Testament upon them than those of the Old, because, so long as they are opposed to the former, they certainly will not admit the latter. In my closing remarks, however, I have endeavoured to designate briefly the right point of view in the determination of critical questions concerning the Old Testament.

To conclude, I pray that the Lord may be pleased graciously to accompany this my book with his blessing, and cause it to serve as an admonition to many a scoffer, and to console and set at ease the minds of such as have been perplexed with doubts.

OLSHAUSEN.

INTRODUCTION.

FOR fifteen hundred years the New Testament, as we now possess it, has been generally current in the Christian church, and constantly used, as well publicly in the churches as likewise in the domestic circles of believers. This fact is admitted by the scholars of modern times unanimously, since it can be shown by the most certain historical proofs. Hence all investigations concerning the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament and the manner of its formation relate only to the first few centuries after the ascension of our Saviour and the death of the Apostles. Indeed, it is easily seen that in reality everything must depend on this primitive period; for after the New Testament was once made up and generally admitted in the church, it could not be lost. Even before the invention of printing, it was spread abroad in all parts of the Christian world by a multitude of copies, it being more frequently transcribed than all other books together. Hence, even supposing that the New Testament, say by war or devastation, had utterly perished in any country, it would immediately have been introduced again from surrounding ones. Of this, however, there is no example. Even such churches as entirely lost connection with the great Catholic church, and on that account sank to a very low point, yet faithfully preserved the sacred Scriptures, as is proved by the instance of the Ethiopian church, in which, on its discovery after the lapse of centuries, the Bible was found still in use.

From the great importance of the New Testament to the church and the whole civilised world, it was a very natural desire on the part of scholars to know exactly how this momentous book was formed. On entering upon this inquiry, however, in the

perusal of the earliest writers of the church, accounts were met with which were somewhat difficult of adjustment. It was found that even before the compilation of all the writings of the New Testament into one collection, many fathers of the church, perfectly well disposed towards Christianity, had doubted the genuineness of particular books of the New Testament. This circumstance naturally arrested attention, and the next inquiry was, what grounds such early fathers might have had for scruples respecting these writings. In considering this question, one thought he had discovered this reason and another that; and it often happened that these reasons were considered weighty enough to justify the ancient doubts as to the genuineness of the books. It was at the Reformation, particularly, that this free investigation of the Bible began to extend widely; and among the Reformers Luther himself was specially remarkable for it. From these inquiries he became fully convinced of the genuineness of most of the writings of the New Testament; but he supposed it necessary to regard some of them, e. g. the Epistle of James, and John's Revelation, as spurious. In this opinion he certainly erred, particularly, as is now acknowledged by nearly all scholars, in his rejection of the Epistle of James; but great as was, and still is, his authority in the eyes of many millions of Christians, his belief of the spuriousness of these two books has done no essential harm; they have maintained their place in the New Testament since as before, and the circumstance of his rejecting them has only shown the church the truth of the old remark that even God's saints may err.

From this example may be clearly seen, however, the total groundlessness of the fear of those who imagine that such scrutinizing inquiries must be, in and of themselves, prejudicial to the church. Such examinations of the origin of holy writ, and its individual books, are not only *allowable*, but absolutely *indispensable*; and they will injure the church, no more than gold is injured by being carefully tried in the fire. The church, like the gold, will but become purer for the test. In the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, the eternal revelation of God reposes in quiet security and brightness. A wonderful Divine ordination has preserved it to us without any essential injury, through a succession of dark ages. It exerts at the present day, upon all minds receptive of its spirit, the same blessed, sanctifying influence which the apostles claimed for it eighteen

centuries ago. How, then, can these sacred books suffer from careful historical inquiry respecting their origin? Investigation must rather serve to confirm and fully establish belief in their purity and genuineness. That this is actually the effect of really learned investigations is apparent, likewise, from the following instance. When the very erudite and truly pious Professor Bengel of Tubingen published his New Testament with all the various readings which he had been able to discover, many minds were filled with anxiety, thinking that an entirely new Testament would be the result in the end, if all the various readings were hunted up. They thought it would be better to leave things as they were. But mark—although 40,000 various readings were discovered in the ancient MSS., the New Testament was hardly at all altered thereby; for very few readings were of a nature to have any essential bearing upon a doctrine. Most of them consisted of unimportant transpositions, or permutations of synonymous words (such as in English *also* for *and*, &c.); and though some readings were more considerable (as e. g. the celebrated passage, 1 John v. 7: "For there are three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one," which must certainly be regarded as spurious), still they are really of no more consequence. For such is the nature of the Holy Scriptures, that there are always many proof-passages for any important doctrine; and hence, although these words are withdrawn from the Bible, their purport is still eternally true, and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity remains at the present time, as before, the doctrine of the church. Now that all the MSS. have been read and accurately collated, there is no further occasion for fear that somewhere or other something new may be discovered, which will thrust the old-loved Bible aside. Moreover, the principles on which scholars determine the right one among different readings of the same passage are so skilfully devised, that it is almost impossible for a false reading to creep in; and, should one individual err in this respect, another immediately steps in and corrects the error.

It certainly is not to be denied that pious persons, who valued God's word, might well for some time be anxious at heart; for one biblical book after another was stricken from the list of those which were genuine, and at last we seemed to have none but spurious books in the Bible; though, on the other

hand, it remained inexplicable who could have taken pains either to forge so many spurious writings himself, or to make a collection of them after they were forged. And then, what could have been the character of the deceitful author or authors (for, at all events, the books must have been written by somebody), who could compose *such* writings,—writings which for many centuries have consoled millions in calamity and death. It is now seen, however, that the reason why things were so for a time, was, not that men inquired and investigated (for no injury can ever accrue on that account), but that they did not prosecute the investigation with a *right spirit and disposition*. Every one can see that it is not a matter of indifference with what feelings we engage in investigations of this kind in regard to the sacred books. Suppose a man to see in the books of the New Testament only monuments of antiquity, of just as little or as much value as other ancient writings, to have felt nothing of the saving influence of God's word upon his heart, and on that account to be devoid of love for it; yea, even to feel vexed that others should hold it so dear, and enviously and maliciously study how he might destroy their delight in this treasure—such a man, with his perverse disposition, would rake up any thing and every thing in order to undermine the foundation of the church. Whether such corrupt motives have really operated in the heart of any inquirer, no man can determine. It is always presumption to take it upon ourselves to judge respecting the internal position or intention of any heart. We may even suppose one who rejects the whole New Testament to possess honesty and sincerity, which want only the necessary light of conviction. But the *possibility* that such motives may affect these investigations, certainly cannot be denied; and that is fully enough for our purpose. If, moreover, we look at the manner in which a Voltaire among the French, and a Bahrđt among the Germans, have treated the sacred books, we find cogent reason to *fear* that *they* did not keep themselves free from such corrupt motives, however heartily we wish that God's judgment may pronounce them pure. This consideration is of importance, however, because we may see from it how all depends on this interior state of mind with which a man commences his undertakings; so that even the noblest enterprise may by an unholy intention lead to pernicious results. But, setting entirely aside the possibility that a man may undertake investigations respecting the Scrip-

tures in a positively corrupt state of mind, he may also do much injury therein from *levity and frivolity*. If he is not sufficiently penetrated with a conviction of the great importance of investigations concerning the genuineness of the sacred Scriptures, if he does not treat the weaknesses of the church with sufficient tenderness (for she may feel herself wounded in her most sacred interests by the inconsiderate expression of doubts), it may easily happen that, at the first impulse, upon some supposed discovery, this discovery will immediately be blazoned before the world, without having been previously *tested* with soberness and care by all the means within reach. There is little reason to doubt that vanity is commonly at the bottom of this superficial haste; for it is always delightful to what Paul calls the *old man* to be the author of any new and striking opinion. Had all inquirers been able properly to restrain this vain desire to shine, much offence would without doubt have been avoided, and many a heart would have escaped considerable suffering.

Still, in what department of life or knowledge have we not many errors to lament? He who knows his own heart aright will therefore forgive learned men, if they have now and then been governed by vanity or other wrong motives. The misuse of a good thing should not abolish its use; and it is still true that all investigations respecting the sacred books, their history, and compilation, are in themselves very useful and necessary, as without them we must be entirely in the dark in regard to their true character. We will only wish that henceforth the God of truth and love may infuse truth and love into the hearts of all inquirers, and then it will not be of any consequence that many books have been *pronounced* spurious; for, fortunately, they do not *become* spurious from the assertions of this or that man, and it is always allowable for another scholar to point out the errors of his predecessor. From this freedom of investigation the truth will certainly come to light by degrees.

If the thoughts here presented be duly considered, it will be readily seen, that he who has deep love for the word of God need not take it much to heart, that this or that scholar has rejected a particular book. After long investigation, and frequent assertions, that most of the books of the New Testament are spurious, it is nevertheless now agreed among scholars generally, *that all the writings of the New Testament are genuine productions of the apostles*. As to several of them, it is true, precise certainty has

not been attained, but it is to be hoped that uniformity will be exhibited soon in regard to these likewise; and, moreover, the difference of opinion in this view concerning several of these books is not so dangerous as it may appear. Concerning the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, e. g., there is not uniformity of sentiment as yet. Many very estimable divines, with whom I feel myself constrained to coincide in opinion on this point, think that the Epistle was not composed by the Apostle Paul, but by some other very worthy member of the apostolic church. It is clear, however, that even though Paul did not write the Epistle, we cannot on this ground regard it as spurious, inasmuch as its author is not mentioned in it. Hence, the only question in relation to it is, *who* was its author? and on that point it is hard to decide, from the obscurity of the accounts given by the ancient fathers of the church. All, however, regard this Epistle as genuine, i. e. it is universally believed that its author composed it without any intention to palm it off as the production of somebody else, for instance the Apostle Paul. Had that been his purpose, he would have taken care that the Epistle should at once be recognised as Paul's production, by assigning his name to it, or in some other way. The case is certainly different as to the *second Epistle of Peter*, against the genuineness of which many doubts are prevalent. In relation to this Epistle, the first inquiry is not *who* was its author, for the apostle Peter is most clearly designated as such, but *whether* Peter was really and truly the author. If the conclusion be that the Epistle cannot be attributed to Peter, then it must be forged or spurious. It has been attacked with more plausibility than any other book of the New Testament; and yet much may be said even in behalf of this Epistle, as we shall see hereafter. We may therefore assert, that by Divine Providence some good has already accrued from the rigorous sifting to which the books of the New Testament have been subjected in our day. True, it did at first seem as if the whole New Testament would in the course of time be declared spurious; but when the first heat was over, and sober perspicacity returned, it was seen by inquirers that far the greater part of its books rested on a firmer historical foundation than most works of profane antiquity which all the world regard as genuine. Hence we may be of good courage in entering on the consideration of the individual books of the New Testament, for the result of critical investigation is by no means so much to

be dreaded as is sometimes thought. First, however, we desire to premise something further respecting *the New Testament generally*.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEW TESTAMENT GENERALLY.

THE oldest traces of the existence of the whole New Testament as a settled collection occur so late as three centuries after the time of the apostles. The particular reason why so long a period elapsed before this body of writings became definitely determined was, that its individual books, which of course existed before the whole collection, were at first circulated in part singly and in part in smaller collections. For, so long as the apostles were upon earth, and the power of the Spirit from on high was in lively action in every member of the church, so long there was no sensible necessity of a book to serve as the norm or rule of faith and practice. Whenever any uncertainty arose in regard to either, application was made to one of the apostles, and his advice was taken. The Epistles of the Apostle Paul owe their origin in part to such inquiries. Now some of the apostles lived to a very great age. Peter and Paul, it is true, died under the emperor Nero (67 A.D.), suffering martyrdom at Rome; but the Evangelist John, who outlived all the rest, was upwards of ninety years of age at his death, which did not happen till the time of the emperor Domitian, at the close of the first century. Hence, in the lifetime of the apostles, though their writings were highly valued, they were naturally not regarded as sacred writings, which were to be the rule of faith; because there was a more immediate guarantee of truth in the living discourse of the apostles and their first companions, as also in the Holy Spirit, which was so powerfully exerting its influence upon the church. The apostolic writings, therefore, were indeed read in the public assemblies, but not alone, and not regularly. The book for regular public reading was still the Old Testament; and this is always to be understood in the New Testament when the Holy

Scriptures are mentioned. Besides the apostolic writings, however, other profitable books were used for the edification of the church. In particular, we have still some remains of the writings of immediate disciples of the apostles, commonly called *apostolic fathers*, which were publicly read in the ancient churches. These men all lived in the first century and some time in the second. Among them are Clement, bishop of Rome, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, Hermas, who was probably presbyter at Rome, and the well-known Barnabas. The Epistles of Clement and Polycarp, as well as the Book of Hermas, were read with special assiduity in the ancient churches. On account of the great antiquity of these writings, the books of the New Testament are very seldom quoted in them, and much of what coincides with the contents of the New Testament, e. g. Christ's sayings, may have been drawn by these apostolic fathers from oral tradition as well as from perusal of the Gospels. Indeed, the former source is perhaps most probable, since Christians certainly did not then read the Gospels so assiduously as they were read in later times, when they could no longer listen to the living discourse of the apostles and their immediate companions. The reason why so few written remains of the immediate disciples of our Lord are now extant, is in part the long lapse of time, which has destroyed many books once current, but in part also that the ancient Christians laboured more than they wrote. The preaching of the gospel, and the regulation of infant churches, consumed so much of their time, that little remained to be employed in composition. Moreover, in the first century it was always as when Paul wrote the following declaration (1 Cor. i. 26): "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many noble were called." For the most part only people of inferior standing joined the church of Christ; and these had neither the capacity nor the inclination to labour with the pen. In these circumstances it is undoubtedly true that we find little information concerning the books of the New Testament in the first centuries. That they did, nevertheless, exist in the church we shall prove hereafter. But it might be expected, then, that although the most ancient Christians do not speak of their sacred writings, still the heathen writers of Greece and Rome must have done so, considering the multiplicity of their works on all subjects. The heathen writers, however, who were contemporary with the apostles and the apostolic church, make no mention of

the apostolic writings, because they cared nothing at all about the Christian church. They considered the Christians as only a sect of the Jews, and despised them as much as they did the latter. They therefore credited the malicious reports which were circulated respecting the Christians, and treated them, accordingly, as the offscouring of humanity. Such is the procedure of Tacitus, a noble Roman, who relates the persecution of the Christians under Nero. Thus, of course, nothing could induce the Greeks and Romans to cultivate acquaintance with the writings of the Christians, particularly as they were distasteful on another account, from their not being clothed in the same elegant language as their productions. It was only when the number of the Christians became so great as to excite apprehension, that they began to pay attention to everything of importance concerning this new sect, and so at last to their sacred books. But it is not till after the middle of the second century that we find examples like that of Celsus, who, in order to confute the Christians, made himself acquainted with their sacred books.

The original condition of the primitive church, in which less stress was laid on the Scriptures than on the word of the apostles, was not indeed of long continuance. For the mighty outpouring of the Spirit, which, on the day of Pentecost, filled the disciples of our Saviour, had hardly been communicated to a considerable number of other minds, and lost its first power, ere erroneous schisms began to prevail in the churches. The germs of these may even be discovered in the writings of the apostles. The first of these party divisions of the ancient church was that of the *Jewish Christians*. As early as in the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul speaks expressly of persons who desired to bring the Galatian Christians again under the yoke of the law. They wished faith in Christ and his redemption to be regarded as insufficient for salvation, unless circumcision and the observance of the law were added. The great preacher of the Gentiles, however, zealously opposes this restricted idea of Christianity, and shows that the soul must lose Christ, if it seeks to use any other means of salvation. It was the object of the law of Moses to lead by its injunctions to conviction of sin, and thus to a desire for salvation; by its prophecies and types of Christ it was a schoolmaster to guide us to him; but salvation itself could come only from Christ. Still, Paul was by no means of opinion that those who were Jews by birth must not observe the law when

they became Christians; he rather favoured their doing so, if the pious customs of their fathers had become dear to them, or if their own weakness or that of the Jews around them would be offended by the contrary course. Hence, the apostles who remained in Jerusalem till its destruction, as did Matthew and James, observed the law invariably, and so did Paul likewise, when he was in Jerusalem. But the apostles, as well as their true disciples, were far from being desirous to impose this observance of the law upon the Gentiles also. The milder and really Christian view of the observance of the law was constantly entertained by many Jewish Christians in Palestine, who in later times were called *Nazareans*. Many, on the contrary, took the wrong course, which the Apostle Paul reproved in certain individuals in Galatia, and these obtained the name of *Ebionites*. They, however, fell into other heresies besides their idea of the necessity of circumcision and observance of the law in order to salvation, particularly in regard to the person of Christ. They denied the real divinity of our Lord, and regarded him as a son of Joseph, thus seceding wholly from the true church of Christ.

In precise contrariety to this *Judaizing* division of the church, others entirely discarded Judaism. The instructions of the apostle Paul had taken deep hold of their minds, and given them a strong conviction that the gospel went far beyond the formalities of Jewish practice, and would bring all nations under its sway. But from this perfectly correct idea they wandered into an opposition to the Old Testament, which was never felt in the slightest degree by the Apostle Paul. They remarked rightly, that in the Old Testament, the Divine *justice* was most prominently exhibited, in the revelation of a rigorous law; while the New most fully displayed the Divine *mercy* in the revelation of forgiving love. But this fact, which was necessary for the education of mankind, since the need of salvation will never be felt until the claims of justice are perceived, was employed by them for the purpose of wholly disuniting the Old Testament from the New, and referring it to a distinct author. This sect are termed *Marcionites*, from Marcion, the man who urged this view to the greatest extreme. In connection with their opposition to Judaism they also held Gnostic opinions (whence they are commonly ranked with the Gnostics), and these gave a hue to their absurd notion that the God of the Old Testament was different from

that of the New. The Old Testament, they thought, presented to view a God of justice without love; the New Testament one of love without justice; while in reality the only true God possesses both attributes in perfection. It is easy to see that in these notions Paganism is mingled with Christianity. The sublime nature of the latter was admitted by the Marcionites; but they could not look upon the other true form of religion, Judaism, as reconcilable with it. Hence, although they no longer revered the numberless gods of the heathen, they imagined the two attributes of God, justice and love, to centre in two distinct divine beings. Besides this ungrounded violence against Judaism, the Marcionites maintained a silly error in regard to Christ's nature, which was the precise opposite of the opinion of the Jewish Christians. The latter denied his divinity, and the Marcionites asserted that he had no true humanity. The humanity of Christ, said they, was only apparent. In their opinion, a purely heavenly vision was presented in the person of Jesus Christ; his life and all his acts in life were merely in appearance, designed to exhibit him to men in a human manner.

This idea the Marcionites entertained in common with the *Gnostics*, properly so called, who did indeed judge more correctly than the former in regard to the mutual relation of Judaism and Christianity, but on other points maintained the most grievous errors. The seeds of their doctrine are referred to by the Apostle Paul, e. g. in 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18, where he warns against the heresy of Hymeneus and Philetus, who maintained that the resurrection of the dead had already taken place. For, as they denied the true humanity of Christ, they could not, of course, admit the corporeal resurrection of all men; and therefore understood it spiritually of the interior vivification of the heart by the spirit of Christ. Undoubtedly this perversion of doctrine on the part of the *Gnostics* is to be referred to their belief in another being besides God. While they regarded God as a pure spirit, the fulness of all good and all beauty, they looked upon matter as another being, the source of everything corporeal and visible, as also of all evil. It was from a mixture of the spiritual and the material that this world originated, and particularly man, who at one time displays so much that is lovely and elevated, at another so much that is low and base. Thus the only way to purify and sanctify man was, that he should be gradually freed from every thing material, and by the divine

germs of life within him, be brought back to God. It is easy to imagine what a distorted view of all the doctrines of salvation must be produced by such an idea, since holy writ nowhere countenances the opinion that evil resides in *matter*, but rather expressly refers it to the *will* of the creature, who, by disobedience to the holy will of the Creator, has destroyed in himself and about him the harmony which originally prevailed in the whole universe.

In this condition of things, then, when Jewish Christians, Marcionites, and Gnostics, to say nothing of other insignificant sects, were disturbing the unity of the church, it was seen to be necessary that every effort should be exerted to uphold the purity of the apostolic doctrines. But as, at the time when these sects became very powerful, the apostles were no longer upon earth, no direct appeal could be made to their authority, whenever oral tradition was adduced against them, these heretics appealed themselves to pretended communications from the apostles. The Gnostics, in particular, asserted that the deep wisdom which they taught in their schools was communicated by the apostles to only a few; very simple Christian truth alone, they supposed, was only for the multitude. What remained, therefore, since appeal to oral tradition from the apostles was of no avail, but reference to written authority? This could not be altered and falsified like oral language; it was better suited to be a fixed, unchangeable norm and rule of faith, and could therefore be employed with exceeding force and efficiency against all heretics. Thus the time was now come when a sifting and separation of the many professedly Christian writings scattered abroad in the church was necessary. Moreover, the different sects of heretics had all sorts of forged writings among them, in which their peculiar opinions were presented in the names of celebrated prophets and apostles. Against such writings explicit declaration must be made, in order to preserve the true apostolic doctrine from mixture with erroneous and confused notions. As of course, however, individual fathers of the church could have but little influence against the established sects of heretics, it was felt to be necessary that real Christians should be more closely and intimately united; and from the endeavour consequently made sprang the so-called *catholic*, i.e. *universal church*. The teachers of the church, as well as the laity, agreed together in the avowal of certain doctrines, which afterwards formed their

creed, or the so-called *apostolic symbol*, because in them the true apostolic doctrines were stated in opposition to heretics. Thus it became practicable to set firm bounds to the tide of corruption; and thus the various sects were gradually suppressed by the preponderant influence of the universal church. Still some of them lasted down to the fifth and sixth centuries.

This sifting of the various Christian writings demands a more careful consideration. It has been before remarked that certain edifying productions of estimable Fathers, e. g. Clement of Rome, Hermas and others, were publicly read along with those of the apostles. Still, however profitable the perusal of these writings might be, the bishops of the Catholic church correctly felt that they could be of no service against heretics, as these would not allow them any weight. Since, however, they commonly acknowledged the writings of the apostles, these and these alone could be appealed to in confutation of them. All such writings, therefore, as were allowed to be the compositions of other authors were first separated from the rest. If this had not been done, it would have remained uncertain in all subsequent time what books were properly to be regarded as pure sources of apostolic doctrine; and at the time of the Reformation it would not have been so easy to restore the true uncorrupted doctrine of Christ by means of the Scriptures, as it actually was, on account of the circumstance that the genuine Scriptures were possessed in a separate, fixed collection. Now, in the endeavour to gather the genuine apostolic writings together by themselves, some of them were very easily distinguished from the rest as the apostolic productions. These were called universally-admitted writings; in Greek *Homologoumena*. Among these were reckoned the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles; the Epistles of the apostle Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians, to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon; and, lastly two Epistles of John and Peter, viz., only the first and largest of both apostles. Among these writings, it is true, there appear two which were not composed by apostles, i. e. by members of the first circle of twelve men which our Lord Jesus gathered about him. [It is to be observed that Paul ranked with these in authority, partly because of his immediate call by the Lord (Acts ix.) and partly on account of his extended and blessed labours in behalf of the church.] We mean the

Gospel of Mark and the work of Luke. We say the *work* of Luke, for Luke's Gospel and his Acts of the Apostles do but make two halves of the same work, as is plain from the commencement of the Acts. There was no scruple on the part of the Catholic church to class these two works of assistants of the apostles with those really apostolic, because both wrote under the influence and approval of apostles. According to the unanimous account of the most ancient Christian Fathers, Mark wrote under the guidance of Peter, and Luke under that of Paul, so that Mark's was regarded as the Petrine, and Luke's as the Pauline Gospel.

These universally-received writings of the apostles were divided into two collections. *First*, the four Gospels by themselves formed a collection called *the Gospel*. For, although this collection contained four narratives of our Lord's life, they were not regarded as different writings, but only as different aspects, or, so to speak, *sides* of one and the same work. Hence an ancient Father of the church, Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in France, terms the four Gospels, the one four-formed or four-sided Gospel. The other writings constituted a *second* collection, which was termed *the apostle*, or the preaching of the apostle. Probably the name took its rise from the fact, that at first the Epistles of Paul alone were collected together, and he was called the apostle, by way of eminence, especially in Europe, on account of his active labours. To this collection of Pauline Epistles the Acts of the Apostles were added subsequently, because it formed, as it were, an introduction to the Epistles, containing an account of Paul's travels and labours in the vineyard of our Lord. Later still were also added the two larger Epistles of John and Peter.

Besides these generally admitted writings, there were others, which were indeed regarded by many as apostolic, but as to which some estimable persons entertained doubts, viz., the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of James and Jude, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and John's Apocalypse. Hence these were termed *disputed writings*, in Greek, *Antilegomena*. About the close of the second or the commencement of the third century, most of the fathers of the Catholic Church became united in believing the genuineness and apostolic origin of all these writings excepting the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse. A *third* small collection was now formed of these epistles, and into it were transferred the two larger Epistles

of John and Peter, which were at first contained in the *second* collection. Consequently, the third comprised *seven Epistles*, which were called the *seven Catholic*, i.e., *universally-admitted Epistles*, in contra-distinction from the various rejected writings. Out of these collections there now remained, therefore, only the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the *Revelation* of John. In regard to the Epistle, as has been already mentioned, no doubt was entertained of its genuineness; the only controversy was, whether Paul was its author or not. At last, the opinion that it was Pauline prevailed, and it was introduced into the collection of Pauline Epistles; though, as the collection was already made up, it was placed at the end, after the small Epistle to Philemon. In the Lutheran version of the Bible, however, the Epistle obtained another place, viz., between the Third Epistle of John and the Epistle of James, for reasons which will be stated hereafter. The whole question, therefore, in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews was of little consequence; for, if Paul did not write it, it is certain that the author of it wrote under his guidance, (as will be shown more at length in the sequel), and the case is the same with this Epistle as with the Gospels of Mark and Luke. It is otherwise, however, with the history of the *Apocalypse*, which also will be particularly related hereafter. Although it has the oldest and most trustworthy witnesses in its behalf, indeed beyond most of the writings of antiquity, it still early met with numerous assailants, on account of its contents. True, many did not exactly regard it as spurious; they only maintained that it was written, not by John the Evangelist, but by another man of less note, bearing the same name. Others, however, felt such excessive dislike towards the book, that they declared it must have been composed by the worst of heretics. Yet here, too, truth fortunately obtained the victory, and the genuine apostolic character of this elevated production of prophetic inspiration was at last acknowledged. As the three smaller collections were already made up, nothing remained but to place it at the end of them all. This was precisely the position to which the *Apocalypse* belonged; for, considering the Gospels to be, as it were, the root of the tree of life exhibited in the whole New Testament, and the Epistles as the branches and blossoms, the *Apocalypse* may be regarded as the fully ripened fruit. It contains a picture of the development of God's church down to the end of time, and

therefore forms the conclusion of the Bible as properly as Genesis forms its commencement.

In order that the various writings and small collections might be permanently united, the smaller divisions were entirely given up in the fourth century, and henceforward there was but one great collection, containing all the New Testament writings. A decisive decree on this point was issued by a council held in the year 393, at Hippo, now Bona, in Africa. In itself considered, this union of the smaller collections into a single large one is of no consequence, and hence, too, it is of none that it took place at so late a period; for, as early as during the third century and the commencement of the fourth, there was entire unanimity in regard to all essential questions concerning the books of the New Testament, as the following particular history of them will evince. Still there was this advantage arising from the union of the apostolic writings into one body, viz., that they were in a more safe and determinate form, and might now be placed with the Old Testament as a complete second part of holy writ.

CHAPTER II.

THE COLLECTION OF THE GOSPELS.

Of the three smaller collections of the writings of the New Testament, which, as we have before stated, were in use in the ancient church, none can be traced further back than that of the Gospels. We find so many and so weighty testimonies in its behalf, that it would seem as though Providence designed that this palladium of the church should be in a special manner secure against all attacks. Not only is it the case that some of the most ancient fathers testify to its existence, as e. g., Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, (all of whom lived in the second century after Christ, and were preceded only by the so-called apostolic fathers); but, moreover, the witnesses in its behalf belonged to all parts of the ancient church. Tertullian lived in Carthage; Clement in Egypt; Irenaeus was born in Asia Minor, and became bishop of Lyons in

France; Justin Martyr was born in Palestine (in Flavia Neapolis, otherwise called Sichem), but taught in Rome. Thus the testimonies in favour of the collection of the Gospels come from all the chief stations in the ancient church; and this circumstance, of course, supposes its very general diffusion. The greatest number of testimonies, all proceeding from *one* province, would not be of so much weight as these coincident declarations from the most various parts of the world, as to the currency of the Gospels. A circumstance, however, still more important than these testimonies from different parts of the ancient church is, that not only the members of the Catholic orthodox church, but the heretics also, were familiar with our Gospels. If it be considered, what violent mutual animosity there was between the fathers of the Catholic Church and the heretics; that one party would not adopt or receive anything at all from the other, but was rather disposed to reject it, for the very reason that it came from so detested a quarter; no one can help seeing in the circumstance that both the Catholic Church and the heretics were familiar with the collection of our Gospels an uncommonly cogent proof of its genuineness and great antiquity. For, had it been formed *after* the rise of these sects, either within the pale of the Catholic Church, or in the midst of this or that party of heretics, it would be wholly inexplicable, how it could have been introduced into these sects, from the church, or, *vice versa*, into the church from these sects. Thus the collection of our Gospels must at all events have taken place *before* such sects arose; for on no other ground can it be explained how these books, which were generally known and used before open rupture in the church, should have been admitted as genuine by both parties alike. Now the sects of the Gnostics and Marcionites originated as early as the beginning of the second century; and from this circumstance we are entitled to regard the collection of the Gospels as in existence at a period very near the times of the apostles. Besides the heretics, moreover, we find pagans acquainted with the collection of the Gospels. We refer particularly to Celsus, a violent opponent of Christianity, against whose attacks it was defended by Origen. It is true this man did not live till about two hundred years after the birth of Christ (we do not know the precise period); but it is, notwithstanding, a decisive evidence of the general diffusion and acknowledgment

of the Gospels throughout the church, that they are cited and assailed by pagan opponents as official sources of the Christian doctrines. For, had Celsus been aware that Christians themselves did not acknowledge these writings, it would have been an absurd undertaking to refute the Christians from the contents of the books.

Further, it is a wholly peculiar circumstance in the history of the Gospels, and one which goes a great way to sustain their genuineness, that we nowhere find, in any writer of any part of the ancient world, any indication that only a single one of the four Gospels was in use, or even known to exist separately. *All possessed the entire collection of the Gospels.* It is true there is one writer, Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, concerning whom there is no express statement that he had all the four Gospels. But the manner in which Eusebius speaks respecting him in his Church History is such that there is nothing questionable in this silence. Eusebius adduces from a work of Papias, now not extant, some notices of Matthew and Mark. It is certainly true that nothing is said of Luke and John; but this is undoubtedly because the ancient bishop had not made any particular observations on these two Gospels. His silence respecting them is the less an evidence that he was not acquainted with them, as the theatre of the labours of Papias was in the vicinity of Ephesus, where John lived so long, and moreover wrote his Gospel. On this account Papias must necessarily have been acquainted with it. Eusebius, moreover, remarks, in the same place, that Papias was acquainted with the first Epistle of John. How much rather, then, with his Gospel? Thus Eusebius says nothing concerning Luke and John, only because it was a matter of course that Papias was familiar with them, and the latter had not said anything special in regard to their origin. There were, moreover, some heretics who made use of but *one* Gospel, e. g. Marcion used Luke, and the Ebionites Matthew; but they had special reasons for doing so in their doctrinal opinions. They did not, by any means, deny the three other Gospels to be genuine; they only asserted that their authors were not true disciples of our Lord. Marcion held the erroneous notion that all the disciples, with the exception of Paul, still continued *half Jews*. The Jewish Christians maintained that all the disciples, except Matthew, had strayed away *too far from* Judaism, and on that account did not receive their writings. In this state of

the case there is clear evidence from their opinions also that the Gospels are genuine, and were in that day generally diffused in the church. Now, as the collection of our four Gospels existed so very early and so universally, the inquiry occurs, how it could have originated? Shall we say that a particular individual or church may have formed it, and it may then have spread itself everywhere abroad? This supposition seems to be countenanced by the circumstance of the general uniformity as to the order of the four Gospels. A very few MSS. place John next to Matthew, in order that the writings of the apostles may be by themselves. Clearly, however, this transposition arose from the fancy of some copyist, and has no historical foundation. There is still, therefore, positive authority for the universally received arrangement. The most weighty circumstance against the opinion that the first collection of the Gospels was made in a particular place, and diffused itself abroad from thence, is, that we have no account respecting such a process, though we should expect one, from the fact that John lived, and moreover wrote his Gospel, at so late a period. For this reason had the Evangelist John himself, as some suppose, or any other man of high authority in the church, formed the collection of the Gospels, we should, one would think, have had an account of its formation, as it could not have taken place before the end of the first or commencement of the second century, which period borders very closely on that from which we derive so many accounts concerning the Gospels. But this same circumstance that we read nothing at all respecting a collector of the Gospels, that writers have been left to conjecture in regard to the manner in which the collection of them was made, leads to another view of its formation, which casts the clearest light on the genuineness of the books. It is in the highest degree probable that our Gospels all originated in capital cities of the Roman empire. Matthew probably wrote his in Jerusalem, the centre of Judaism, where also, as appears from the Acts of the Apostles, a large Christian church was early gathered. Mark and Luke undoubtedly wrote in Rome, the political centre of the empire, to which innumerable multitudes of men thronged from all quarters of the world for the transaction of business. In this city, too, a flourishing Christian church was early formed, as is seen from the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, which was written before Peter, or Paul, or any

apostle, had visited Rome. Lastly, John wrote at Ephesus, a large and thriving city of Asia Minor. It was the residence of many learned and ingenious heathen. The large church at Ephesus was, according to the Acts, founded by Paul. It was fostered by the labours of John. Now, let it be considered how many thousands must consequently have been most exactly aware who wrote the Gospels, and it will be perceived that these circumstances afford weighty evidence of their genuineness, particularly as *there is not to be found in a single ancient writer the faintest trace of any doubt in regard to it*; for the heretics, who, as we have remarked, disputed the Gospels in part, did not deny their genuineness (they rather fully admitted it), but only their obligatory authority. Now, as very active intercourse was maintained among the Christians of the ancient church, partly by constant epistolary communications, and partly by frequent personal visits, nothing is more natural than the supposition that the Christians of Jerusalem very soon transmitted the Gospel of Matthew, which was composed in the midst of them, to Rome, Ephesus, Alexandria, and other places, and that, on the other hand, those of Rome and Ephesus also transmitted the writings composed among them to the other churches. In every church there were archives, in which were deposited important documents. Into these archives of the church the Gospels were put, and as only these four Gospels were composed or vouched for by apostles, the collection of Gospels took its rise not in this or that place, but in every quarter simultaneously. This statement of the matter is, in the first place, strictly in accordance with the circumstances known to us in regard to the ancient church, and also the only one capable of explaining satisfactorily the existence of the collection in everybody's hands, while no one knew how and whence it originated. As, further, we find *no other* Gospel but these in general use, it is clearly evident that only these four were of apostolic origin. It is true we find in circulation in individual churches Gospels which appear to have differed from our own, e.g. the church at Rhossus in Cilicia, a province of Asia Minor, made use of a Gospel of Peter, and in Alexandria one called the Gospel of the Egyptians was current. It is possible, however, that these two writings were either the same or at least were very nearly allied, and also bore close affinity to our Mark; and in that case their use is as easily ac-

counted for as the use of Matthew and Luke by the Ebionite and Marcionite sects in Recensions somewhat altered from the original.

From this cursory view of the evidence in favour of the genuineness of the Gospels, it cannot but be admitted, that no work can be adduced, out of the whole range of ancient literature, which has so many and so decisive ancient testimonies in its behalf as they. It is therefore, in reality, a mere laboured effort to try to maintain and demonstrate the spuriousness of the Gospels. Since, however, this attempt is made, it may reasonably be inquired: *Whence is derived any occasion for doubt? Is not every thing, without exception, in favour of their genuineness?* We cannot but say, that no thorough, serious-minded scholar, would ever have denied the genuineness of the Gospels, had not the question in regard to their genuineness been conjoined with another investigation of extreme difficulty and intricacy. In the ardent endeavour to get rid of this difficulty, scholars have been seduced into the invention of hypotheses irreconcilable with the genuineness of the Gospels. They should, on the contrary, have set out invariably with the admission of their genuineness, as an irrefragable fact, and then have employed only such modes of solving the difficulty above alluded to as were based on the supposition of their genuineness. The difficulty is this. On a close comparison of the first three Gospels we discover a very striking coincidence between them. This is exhibited, not merely in the facts and the style, but also in the order of narration, in the transitions from one narrative to another, and in the use of uncommon expressions, and other things of the same character. Further, the coincidence is interrupted by just as striking a dissimilarity, in such a manner that it is in the highest degree difficult to explain how this coincidence and this dissimilarity, as it is exhibited in the Gospels, can have originated. This is a purely learned investigation, which writers should have quietly prosecuted as such, without allowing it to influence the question respecting the genuineness of the Gospels. Such has been its influence, however, that some scholars suppose a so-called *Protevangelion*, or original Gospel, which the apostles, before they left Jerusalem, and scattered themselves abroad over the whole earth, prepared, in order to serve as a guide to them in their discourses. This writing is supposed to have contained the principal events of the life of our Lord. It

was carried into all lands by the apostles. Now, in these different countries, it is said by the defenders of this hypothesis, additions were gradually made to this original Gospel. These were at first short, and thus arose the Gospels of the Jewish Christians, the Marcionites, and others; afterwards they became longer, and in this way, at last, our Gospels were produced. Now, as it cannot be stated by whom these additions were made, this view is really equivalent to making our Gospels spurious, for, according to it, only the little portion of them which existed in the brief original Gospel is of apostolic authority. But, setting aside the fact that the hypothesis must be false, for this very reason, because it opposes the genuineness of the Gospels, which can be demonstrated by historical proof; this theory has been, moreover, of late utterly discarded by learned men on other grounds. In the first place, no ancient Christian writer exhibits any acquaintance with such an original Gospel; and is it conceivable that the knowledge of so remarkable a work should have been totally lost? Then, too, the idea that a guide was composed by the apostles for themselves, in order to preserve unity in doctrine, is not at all suited to the apostolic period. At this period the Holy Spirit operated with its primal freshness and power. This Spirit, which guided into all truth, was the means of preserving unity among the apostles. Not an individual of those witnesses to the truth needed any external written guide. Besides, this supposition solves the difficulty in question, respecting the coincidence of the Gospels, only in a very meagre and forced manner, while there is a much simpler way of reaching the same result far more satisfactorily. We must suppose more than one source of this characteristic of the first three Gospels. *Sometimes* one Evangelist was certainly made use of by another. This remark is applicable particularly to Mark, who undoubtedly was acquainted with and made use of both Matthew and Luke. *Moreover*, there existed short accounts of particular parts of the Gospel-history, such as narratives of particular cases of healing, relations of journeys, and the like. Now, when two Evangelists made use of the same brief account, there naturally resulted a resemblance in their history. Still, as each was independent in his use of these accounts, some variations also occurred. *Finally*, much of the similarity between them arose from oral narrations. It is easy to believe that certain portions of the evangelical history, e. g. particular

cures, parables, and discourses of our Lord, were repeated constantly in the very same way, because the form of the narrative imprinted itself with very great exactness on every one's memory. In this manner the songs of Homer and Ossian were long transmitted from mouth to mouth. Uniformity in an oral mode of narration is not sufficient of itself alone to explain the relation between the Gospels, because in prose it is impossible (in poetry it is much easier) to imprint on the memory minute traits and important forms of expression with so much exactness as would be necessary to account for the mutual affinity of the Gospels; and, moreover, could their similarity be thus explained, the variations between them would only stand out in more troublesome relief. But that which cannot be effected by a single hypothesis, can be by that in conjunction with others. And here, perhaps, we may see the true solution of a problem which has so long occupied the attention of theologians. But, whatever opinion be entertained on this point, the investigation of it must always be kept aloof from the question of the genuineness of the Gospels, which should first be established or denied on historical grounds. Thus will the collection of the Gospels be secure from all danger.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIVIDUAL GOSPELS AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Of the four Gospels, that of Matthew holds the first place in the canon. The author of this first Gospel bore, besides the name of Matthew, that of Levi also (Matth. ix. 9; Mark ii. 14), and was the son of a certain Alpheus, of whom we have no further information. Of the history of Matthew very little is known, in addition to the accounts in the New Testament. After our Saviour called him from his station as receiver of the customs, he followed him with fidelity, and was one of the twelve whom Jesus sent forth to preach. His labours as an apostle, however, seem to have been wholly confined to Palestine; for, what is related of Matthew's travels in foreign countries is very

doubtful, resting only on the authority of rather late ecclesiastical writings. But the information respecting him which is of most importance to our purpose is given with perfect unanimity by the oldest ecclesiastical writers, who declare that Matthew wrote a Gospel. It is true that they likewise subjoin, equally without exception, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, at Jerusalem, and for believing Jews; and that this account must be correct, we know from the fact that the Jewish Christians in Palestine, who spoke Hebrew, all made use of a Gospel which they referred to Matthew. This Hebrew Gospel did, indeed, differ from our Greek Gospel of Matthew, for it contained many things wanting in our Gospel; but still it was in general so exactly like the latter, that a father of the fourth century, the celebrated Jerome, felt himself entitled to treat the Hebrew Gospel expressly as Matthew's. It is a singular circumstance, however, that, while all the fathers of the church declare Matthew to have written in Hebrew, they all, notwithstanding, make use of the Greek text as of genuine apostolic origin, without remarking what relation the Hebrew Matthew bore to our Greek Gospel; for that the oldest fathers of the church did not possess Matthew's Gospel in any other form than that in which we now have it, is fully settled. That we have no definite information on this point is undoubtedly owing to accidental causes; but, since it is so, that we have not any certain account, we can only resort to conjecture in regard to the mutual relation of the Greek and Hebrew Matthew. Existing statements and indications, however, enable us to form conjectures which, it is in the highest degree probable, are essentially correct. The idea that some unknown individual translated the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, and that this translation is our canonical Gospel, is, in the first place, contradicted by the circumstance of the universal diffusion of this same Greek Gospel of Matthew, which makes it absolutely necessary to suppose that the translation was executed by some one of acknowledged influence in the church, indeed, of apostolic authority. In any other case, would not objections to this Gospel have been urged in some quarter or other, particularly in the country where Matthew himself laboured, and where his writings were familiarly known? There is not, however, the slightest trace of any such opposition to it. Besides, our Greek Gospel of Matthew is of such a peculiar character, that it is impossible for us to regard it as a mere version. Does a man, who

is translating an important work from one language into another, allow himself to make alterations in the book which he is translating, to change the ideas it presents? Something of the kind must be supposed to have been done in the Greek Gospel of Matthew with regard to the Hebrew. This is beyond denial, if it be considered merely, how the quotations from the Old Testament are treated. These do not coincide either with the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, or with the version in common use at the time of the apostles, viz. the Septuagint (which was executed by some learned Jews at Alexandria, several centuries before the birth of Christ); but rather exhibit an independent text of their own. Now, as sometimes the argument is wholly based on this independent character of the text in the citations from the books of the Old Testament, and could not have accorded at all with the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, it is clear that our Greek Gospel must be something else than a mere version. It is rather an independent work, though closely allied to the Hebrew Gospel of the apostle. Now, since this same work is universally regarded as an apostolic production, and as having been written by Matthew, there is no more simple and effectual mode of solving all the characteristics of the Gospel of Matthew, than to suppose *that Matthew himself, when he had composed the Hebrew Gospel, executed likewise a free translation or new composition of it in the Greek language.* It makes no essential difference, if we suppose that a friend of Matthew wrote the Greek work under his direction and authority; but Matthew's authority must necessarily be supposed to have been the means of the diffusion of the Gospel, as otherwise it is inexplicable that there does not appear the faintest trace of any opposition to it.

No definite *objections* can be made against our supposition that Matthew wrote a Greek Gospel besides his Hebrew one. A single circumstance, however, may appear strange, viz. that Papias, the ancient bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, whom we have before mentioned, a man who was conversant with persons that had themselves seen and heard our Lord, informs us that every one endeavoured to translate the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew as well as he was able. Thus, according to this passage, our universally-received Greek transformation of the Hebrew Gospel was not commonly known in Phrygia, so that persons who did not very well understand Hebrew made use, as well as

they could, of the Hebrew Gospel. But the circumstance, that the Greek Gospel of Matthew was not yet current in the immediate vicinity of Papias, is no proof at all that it was not yet in existence. For, as Matthew's work was already diffused throughout the church in the Hebrew language, and the Greek Gospel of Matthew corresponded with the Hebrew in every essential point, it was very natural that the Greek Gospel should be circulated in a more dilatory manner; and by some accident, it is probable, it was particularly tardy in reaching Phrygia. As, however, in the west generally, very few understood Hebrew, when the Greek Gospel of Matthew was once procured, that only was circulated there, and thus the Hebrew Gospel was completely lost in Europe. In Palestine alone, as the Hebrew was better understood, the Gospel in that language continued in use, though it was encumbered with divers foreign additions by the Jewish Christians.

Thus the genuineness of the Gospel of Matthew is fully confirmed on historical grounds, aside from its position in the collection of the Gospels. Recent investigators have raised doubts in regard to its genuineness from *internal* considerations. They say, in particular, that if the statements of Matthew, in the character of eye-witness (for he was one of the twelve apostles), be compared with the descriptions of Mark, who does not write as an eye-witness, it will be evident that the advantage is on the side of the latter. Everything which Mark narrates is represented in so graphic a manner that it is plain he derived his accounts from eye-witnesses; while the narrative of Matthew, whom we are to regard as himself an eye-witness in respect to most of his relations, is dry, and without the least vivacity. This remark is perfectly correct. Comparison of a few passages will at once show how much more minute and graphic are Mark's descriptions than those of Luke. This is particularly the case as to the accounts of cures. In these Mark frequently describes the circumstances of the sick person before and after the cure in so lively a manner as to make us imagine the scene really before us; while Matthew, on the contrary, describes the occurrence only in very general terms. Let a comparison be made in this view between the following accounts which Matthew and Mark give of the same occurrences:—

MATTH. viii. 28—34.

"And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes, there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. And behold they cried out saying," &c.

Respecting their cure Matthew merely says (ver. 32):—"And he said unto them, Go. And when they were come out they went into the herd of swine, and behold the whole herd of swine," &c.

ix. 18—26.

20. "And behold a woman which was diseased with an issue of blood twelve years came behind him, and plucked the hem of his garment."

xiv. 1—12.

Account of the execution of John the Baptist by Herod.

MARK v. 1—19.

"And they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes. (This is another reading for Gergesenes.) And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains, because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him, and cried with a loud voice, and said," &c.

Respecting his cure, Mark says (ver. 13 and onward): "And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out and entered into the swine," &c. "And they (that were in the city and in the country) went out to see what it was that was done. And they come to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with the devil, and had the legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid."

v. 21—43.

25. "And a certain woman which had an issue of blood twelve years, and had suffered many things of many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse, when she had heard of Jesus, came in the press behind, and touched his garment."

Moreover, the whole account contained in verses 29—33 is in Mark only.

vi. 14—20.

The whole narrative is given in Mark with much more minuteness and vivacity.

Such a difference in the style of narration runs throughout Matthew and Mark; and it cannot well be denied that at first view there is something surprising in it. But careful examination of the object of the two Gospels plainly shows whence this different manner of narration in Matthew and Mark takes its rise, and thus does away with all the inferences which have been

deduced therefrom in opposition to the apostolic origin of Matthew. The reason why Mark describes the outward relations of our Lord's life in so vivid and graphic a manner is, that it was his *special design* to portray *Christ's performance of the outward functions of his office*. Hence, all which related to that, he details very carefully; while whatever did not pertain thereto he either entirely omits, as, e. g., the history of the childhood of Jesus, or communicates very briefly, as, e. g., many of our Lord's larger discourses. Matthew, on the contrary, makes it *his* chief object to communicate our *Lord's discourses*. He commonly makes use of events only as points of support for the discourses; to which he, like John, directs special attention. If it be considered, moreover, that the graphic nature of style is, in great part, owing to peculiar talent, such as is not bestowed alike on all men, and such as was by no means requisite in every one of the apostles, there remains not a shadow of reason, why the want of vivacity, which is certainly exhibited in Matthew's Gospel, should become a motive for denying its genuineness. In truth, moreover, there is no period at which a forgery of the Gospel in Matthew's name is even conceivable. For it is demonstrable from the book itself that it must have been composed a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and hence about sixty-six years after the birth of Christ. Now we find Matthew in use in the church before the close of the same century, at a time when John the Evangelist had but just died, and many disciples of the apostles were living and labouring in all parts of the world. How was it possible, in such circumstances, to introduce a work forged in the name of Matthew into so general currency, that not the very slightest opposition should ever have been raised against it?

From what has been said it will have been inferred that the genuineness of Mark is not at all disputed. His graphic, lively manner has even been made to afford occasion for assailing the genuineness of Matthew. Nor, in truth, was there in ancient times the least opposition to Mark's Gospel. It was known to Papias of Hierapolis, i.e., as early as the close of the first century, and there is an unbroken chain of evidence in its favour since that time. It is true, Mark's work was, in all probability, written at Rome, at that time the capital of the known world, and therefore a fixed and sure tradition as to the author of the work might be formed at once, and would easily diffuse itself

everywhere abroad. Still, however, there is one thing which appears very remarkable in regard to the rapid diffusion and reception of Mark, viz., that it was a production whose author was not an apostle. John Mark, frequently called Mark only, was the son of a certain Mary who had a house in Jerusalem, (Acts xii. 12). Mark himself, as we are told in the Acts (xii. 25; xiii. 5; xv. 36 seq.), at first accompanied the apostle Paul in his travels for the dissemination of Christianity. He afterwards attached himself to his kinsman Barnabas. At a later period, however, we find him again in Paul's company (2 Tim. iv. 11). According to the fathers, he was also, for a considerable time, closely connected with Peter, and was interpreter to the latter when he preached among the Greeks. He invariably, however, occupied a dependent situation, and on this account it is impossible that his name alone should have procured his Gospel an introduction into the church. But, as has been already mentioned, Mark did not write without apostolic authority. *On the contrary, he was under the direction of the apostle Peter.* This is stated by the entire series of church-fathers during the second and third centuries, with perfect unanimity in the main; and the statement is corroborated by the case of Luke, which was exactly similar. On this account, the Gospel of Mark was considered as originating with Peter, and such individuals as were particularly attached to this apostle used Mark in preference to all others. Unfortunately, however, we have no minute accounts as to this matter, and hence do not know whether these individuals corrupted the Gospel of Mark, as the Jewish Christians did that of Matthew, or not. It is possible, however, that the so-called *Gospel of the Egyptians* was a corruption of Mark, though the fragments we have of it are not sufficient to enable us to form a certain opinion on this point.

As to *Luke*, we have more clear and certain evidence in this respect. We know that that sect which carried the sentiments of Paul to an erroneous extreme, the *Marcionites*, used only the Gospel of Luke, although Marcion was very well acquainted with the other Gospels, and regarded them as genuine. They had, however, altered Luke in conformity with their opinions, and thus formed, as it were, a new Gospel out of it, which, notwithstanding, still retained much resemblance to the original. The reason why the Marcionites selected Luke was, that this Gospel was written under the direction of the apostle Paul, who

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alone, in their opinion, was a genuine apostle of our Lord. Luke, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles, had travelled about with the apostle Paul for a long time, and, in particular, had also accompanied him to Rome. This is clear from the final chapters of the Acts of the Apostles. Connecting this fact with the conclusion of the work, it is perfectly evident when the Evangelist finished it. According to the last chapter, Paul was two years in confinement at Rome. Here Luke breaks off, without mentioning the issue of his trial. Had this been concluded, should we not, of course, have had an account of the emperor's decision respecting the great apostle of the Gentiles? It can be made very probable, by circumstances deduced from another quarter, that Paul was liberated from his first imprisonment at Rome, and did not suffer as a martyr till he had been a second time placed in bonds. Luke, however, abruptly breaks off in the midst of his narrative. Now, as the Acts of the Apostles are only the second part of Luke's work, the Gospel being the first (compare Luke i. 1 with Acts i. 1), the latter cannot have been written subsequently; and probably, when Paul's death was apprehended, Luke wrote down the accounts he had received from him or through him, in order to secure them to posterity. Then the apostle, who was still living, attested the purity and accuracy of the work, and from Rome, the great central point of the religious, as well as the political world, it speedily made its way into the churches, in every province of the vast Roman empire. Thus, it was not Luke's name which procured for this Gospel its currency in the church, *but the authority of the apostle Paul*. Without this, the work of Luke, with its two divisions, the Gospel and the Acts, would have been the less likely to obtain general credit, because it purports to be a mere private production, addressed to a certain *Theophilus*. It is, indeed, very probable, that this Theophilus was a man of note, who was either already a member of the church, or at least well-disposed towards it; but still he was only a private man, whose name could have no weight with the whole church. He had, probably, already perused divers accounts concerning Christ, and the formation of the primitive churches, which, however, were not duly authentic and certain; and for this reason, Luke determined to compose for his use an authoritative history of the important events in our Lord's life, and of the foundation of the churches. (Comp. Luke i. 1—4.) Under these circumstances,

it is not astonishing that, in the primitive church, there was no opposition either to Luke's Gospel, or his Acts of the Apostles.¹ The many and close relations of the writer, together with the apostolic authority in his behalf, were such evidence in favour of the work, that not a single valid suspicion could arise respecting its genuineness.

Lastly, The circumstances in regard to the Gospel of John are particularly calculated to place its genuineness beyond dispute; for John the Evangelist lived much longer than any of the other apostles. So far as we know, none of the others were alive after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the Roman emperor, in the year 70 A.D. John, however, survived it nearly thirty years, dying about the close of the first century, under the reign of the emperor Domitian. Hence, many Christians who had heard of our Lord's farewell words to him (John xxi. 22, 23), believed that John would not die, an idea which the Evangelist himself declares erroneous. This beloved disciple of our Lord, during the latter part of his life, as we know from testimonies on which perfect reliance may be placed, lived at Ephesus, in Asia Minor, where the apostle Paul had founded a flourishing church. The importance of this church, about the year 64 or 75 A.D., is evinced by Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians; and subsequently it was very much enlarged. It was in this subsequent period that John wrote his Gospel. This is clear, *first*, from a comparison of the Gospel with the Revelation. This last work was written by John at an earlier period, before the destruction of Jerusalem. John's style in this prophetic composition is not so thoroughly easy as we find it at a later period in the Gospel, which he must have written after longer intercourse with native Greeks. *Again*, John plainly had the three other Gospels before him when he wrote; for he omits all which they had described with sufficient minuteness, e.g. the institution of the holy supper, and only relates that which was new respecting the life of his Lord and Master. Hence, these must have been already composed, and also so generally diffused, that John could presume them universally known in the church. *Moreover*, the persons to whom John's work has special reference, viz. cer-

¹ So far as the Acts of the Apostles speaks of the circumstances of Paul, it has a perfect correspondence with Paul's Epistles, as the latter have with the former. See this fact more fully developed in the *fourth chapter* of this treatise.

tain Gnostics, did not attain importance till Jerusalem was destroyed, and most of the apostles had left this world. Now, if we duly consider all these circumstances, it will be even more incredible in regard to John's Gospel than any other, that it should have been forged in his name. From his being the sole surviving apostle, innumerable eyes were upon him and his movements. He lived and laboured in one of the chief cities of the known world, in which was a large church, and the vicinity of which was wholly peopled with Christians. We have an epistle of Pliny, a distinguished Roman officer of that region, written only a few years after the death of John the Evangelist, in which he describes the vast increase of the Christians in Asia Minor, and lays before the emperor Trajan (the successor of the emperor in whose reign John's death took place) measures for preventing the further extension of their tenets. Now, how was it possible that in this state of things a work could be forged in John's name; or, supposing even that one might have been (though history says nothing of any such imposition under the name of John),¹ how is it conceivable that no opposition should have been made thereto, when many thousands were acquainted with John, and must have known exactly what he wrote, and what he did not? *Of such opposition, however, there is nowhere the slightest trace.* Not merely all teachers of the orthodox church, in all parts of the wide Roman empire, but also all heretics of the most various sects, make use of the work as a sacred valuable legacy bequeathed to the church by the beloved disciple; and the few heretics who make no use of it, as e. g. Marcion, still evince acquaintance with it, and regard it as a genuine work of John's, but are impudent enough to deny that John himself had a correct knowledge of the Gospel, because he was too much of a Jew. Whether, as was the case with the other Gospels, John's also was corrupted by the heretics, who felt that they were specially aimed at in it, is uncertain. The Gnostics, with the exception of Marcion (who, however, as has been already mentioned, is only improperly reckoned among the Gnostics), made most frequent use of John, as in their opinion specially favouring their spiritual ideas. We do not learn, however,

¹ There does exist in MS., it is true, a second apocalypse under John's name; but this production appears to belong to a much later period. There is also an apostolic history of older date, in which, however, John is only mentioned along with others; it is not ascribed to him.

that there existed in ancient times any Gospel of John corrupted by the Gnostics, as Luke's Gospel was mutilated by Marcion. In modern times, it is true, a Gospel of John thus disfigured has come to public knowledge; but the alterations in it originated at a late period in the middle ages.

The doubts respecting the genuineness of John's Gospel which have, nevertheless, been proposed in recent times, took their rise, like those in regard to Matthew, solely from its *internal* character. When once doubts were thus occasioned, endeavours were made to sustain them on historical grounds likewise. These, however, are of little weight,¹ from the firmness of the foundation on which the Gospel rests. It was with John much as with Matthew, in regard to those characteristics which excited doubt of the genuineness of the book. It was correctly remarked, that John gives a different representation of our Lord from that presented by the first three Evangelists. In his Gospel, Christ's actions and discourses appear, as it were, transfigured and spiritualised, while in the other Evangelists they appear in a costume more or less Jewish and national. Now, as it is not conceivable, it is said, that the same person should be so differently represented, and John, the beloved disciple of our Lord, would certainly not have portrayed his Master as other than he really was, while the description of the actions of Jesus (who appeared as a Jew, among Jews, and in behalf of Jews), given in the accounts of the first three Evangelists, is much more conformable to probability, the Gospel which bears John's name must be of later origin. But here, as in regard to Matthew, it may be observed, that from a perfectly correct remark false conclusions have been deduced. It is indeed true that John exhibits the Saviour in a far more spiritual and glorified character than the first three Evangelists; but this proves nothing, except that John was the most spiritual of the Evangelists. The same individual may be regarded and described very differently by different persons. Of this truth we have a remarkable example in a great character of Grecian antiquity. Socrates is presented to our view in his actions and discourses by two of his confidential pupils, Xenophon and Plato. And how entirely

¹ The most weighty opponent of the genuineness of John has given the excellent example of publicly acknowledging that he has become convinced of the genuineness of this jewel of the church, and retracts his doubts. May this example find numerous imitators!

different is the description given of him by these two writers! In fact, these biographers may be said to sustain very much such a mutual relation as that of John and the first Evangelists. While Xenophon paid attention principally to the external acts of Socrates, Plato describes his spiritual characteristics. Now, if it was possible to represent a common human being of eminence in two very different lights, without doing violence to truth, how much rather might it be so in regard to one who was greater than Solomon, or than Socrates and his biographers. He who lived a purely heavenly life on earth, and spake words of eternal truth, could not but be very variously described, according to the characteristics of the human soul which received the rays of light proceeding from him. Each soul reflected his image according to its own profundity and compass, and yet each might be right. It was for this reason that more than one Gospel was included in the collection of the sacred writings, since only the presentation of different portraitures together could prevent a partial view of our Saviour's character. As it is only from connection of the accounts of Xenophon and Plato that we can obtain a complete picture of Socrates, so we cannot comprehend the life of our Lord, which affords so many different aspects, without uniting the peculiar traits scattered in all the four Gospels into one general portraiture. With all the difference of representation observable in the Evangelists, there are still resemblances and affinities enough to make it evident that they all had the same great personage in view. As John relates narratives of cures exactly like those in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, so the Gospels of the latter contain passages which, in elevation, depth, and richness of thought, are not inferior to our Lord's discourses in John, and indeed resemble them in phraseology. Among these is the lofty and astonishingly beautiful passage, *Matth. xi. 25—30*:—"I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is

easy, and my burden is light." He from whose mouth such language proceeded might certainly be represented in such an aspect as John has given to Jesus, if the description were undertaken by one in some measure capable of appreciating a character of this nature; and that John was thus capable is sufficiently clear from his Epistles.

If, therefore, we look at the Gospels as a collection, or consider each separately, we cannot but say that they are more strongly accredited and sustained by external and internal proofs than any other work of antiquity. *Few* writings have such ancient testimonies in their favour, reaching back to the time of the authors; *none* have so many of them, so totally distinct, so corroborative of each other. While, then, the chief argument in behalf of the Scriptures generally, and of the Gospels in particular, is the *witness of the Holy Spirit*, perceived in his heart by every believer as he peruses the Scriptures (a point on which we shall enlarge at the close of our treatise); still, the possibility of proving on historical grounds the genuineness and primitive character of the Gospels is a great additional cause of gratitude, inasmuch as it removes occasions of distrust, particularly from weak and doubting minds, and affords motives for the confirmation of their faith.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

Along with the collection of the Gospels, there existed at an early period of the church, as was related above,¹ a collection of Paul's Epistles called the *Apostle*. In the lives of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, who were all acquainted with and used it, this collection contained thirteen Epistles, viz. the Epistle to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, those to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, and those to Titus and Philemon. The Epistle to the Hebrews was not inserted in this col-

¹ Comp. Chap. i.

lection, because opinions were not united as to its origin. (See Chap. vi. below). Half a century before the time of the fathers just mentioned, we find a collection of Pauline Epistles in the hands of Marcion, that extravagant reverer of the Apostle Paul. He was born in Asia Minor, where, as is well known, the apostle Paul had long lived and laboured, and was highly revered. Thence Marcion went to Rome, carrying with him the collection of Pauline Epistles which he had made use of in Asia. This, however, contained but ten Epistles; there were wanting the three commonly termed *pastoral* letters, viz. the two to Timothy, and that to Titus; called *pastoral* letters, because in them Paul gives directions to spiritual pastors in regard to the suitable performance of their official duties. The small Epistle to Philemon was known to him, because it stood in close connexion with the Epistle to the Colossians; but the three pastoral letters seem to have been diffused but slowly, as independent private productions, and hence, also, not to have been inserted in the original collection. How the collection of the Pauline Epistles, in the form in which we now have it, originated, is unknown, and has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for by any conjecture.¹ For the supposition that, like the collection of the Gospels, it originated in different places at once, merely by the gradual transmission thither of the Epistles of Paul as fast as they were composed, is forbidden by the circumstance that, as can be proved, they are not arranged in the order of their composition. The collection cannot, however, have been accidentally formed; for it is clear that a certain plan has been followed. At the beginning are placed the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians, distinguished for their length and internal importance; then follows a letter to several churches in a whole province, the Epistle to the Galatians; then the smaller Epistles to churches in particular cities, to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; lastly, come the Epistles to private persons. Moreover, had the collection of them been left to accident, sometimes one arrangement would have been adopted and sometimes another, which is not the case, the order having been the

¹ We find very few traces of a different arrangement of the Epistles of Paul; a different one, however, is followed in an old catalogue of the books of the New Testament, probably pertaining to the church at Rome. It is called *Muratorii's* Catalogue, from an Italian abbot of that name who discovered the MSS. which contained it.

same that we now observe, as far back as the second century. As, therefore, the order of the Epistles was evidently the work of design, and its general reception throughout the church indicates that it proceeded from some authoritative source, the most reasonable supposition is, that the apostle Paul himself made the collection. During the second imprisonment at Rome, to which, as we shall see hereafter, it is highly probable that the apostle was subjected, he may have collected together the ten Epistles, as being the principal ones of a doctrinal nature which he had as yet written, in order to bequeath them as a legacy to the church. It was in this original form that Marcion possessed the collection.¹ After the collection was made up, near the close of his life, Paul wrote the three pastoral letters, which were afterwards added to the original collection, and naturally placed last. By accident Marcion had not become acquainted with these letters, and therefore retained the most ancient form of the collection of Paul's Epistles. A very weighty testimony in favour of this view is presented in the second Epistle of the Apostle Peter, who, at near the conclusion of his letter, says: "And account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation; even as our beloved brother Paul, also, according to the wisdom given unto him, *hath written unto you; as also in all (his) Epistles, speaking in them of these things*; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest," &c. (2 Pet. iii. 15, 16). According to the first Epistle of Peter (i. 1, comp. 2 Pet. iii. 1), Peter wrote to the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, and other provinces of Asia Minor, to which also Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians are directed. Peter, therefore, might presume that his readers were acquainted with these. The expression *all (his) Epistles*, however, clearly indicates a collection of Epistles. Otherwise, there is something of indefiniteness in it. Paul, no doubt, wrote more Epistles during his life than we now possess. But most of his Epistles were not exactly adapted for general diffusion. The expression, *all (his) Epistles*, must therefore have reference to a collection of the

¹ According to the account of Epiphanius, it is true, the order of the ten Epistles in Marcion's Canon was different from that in ours, viz. Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians. If this statement be credited, it must be allowed that Marcion's collection originated independently of ours.

apostle's letters, which could be read through. If it be also considered that Peter was in Paul's company in Rome, and that consequently he would naturally have had acquaintance with the collection of his Epistles, it will be plain that this passage is hardly intelligible, except on the supposition that a collection of Paul's Epistles was already in existence.¹ It is true the genuineness of the second Epistle of Peter is now disputed, and certainly much that is of an imposing nature can be alleged against it. Still, however, all that can be said does not, I am convinced, demonstrate its spuriousness, while there is certainly much evidence of its genuineness. At any rate, this mention of a collection of Paul's Epistles should not be urged against the genuineness of the second Epistle of Peter, as all acknowledge that nothing certain is known in regard to the formation of this collection. But on these points we will speak more at large hereafter.

If it be admitted, however, that Paul himself made the collection of his Epistles, or at least, caused it to be made at Rome under his direction, we have then an explanation of the fact, that in regard to the genuineness of this collection, as in regard to that of the Gospels, *not the slightest doubt was ever expressed*. Members of the Catholic church in all parts of the world, as also of the various sects, make use of the collection and of the individual Epistles, without allowing themselves to intimate the smallest doubt in regard to them. Now, this undeniable fact is wholly irreconcilable with the supposition that all or any Epistles in the collection are spurious. Indeed, the first supposition, that all the Epistles of Paul are spurious, has never been maintained, and never can be, except in despite of all history. But

¹ Some may think that too much is inferred by the author from Peter's expression; and, indeed, it must be admitted, that to say that Peter's language is hardly intelligible, except on the supposition of an existing collection of Paul's Epistles, is somewhat extravagant. Our English translation, by inserting the word *his* in the phraseology of Peter, has somewhat modified the sense of the original, and weakened the force of Olshausen's remarks. The Greek expression is, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, i.e. perhaps, in all the Epistles. Now, though it would give an intelligible sense to these words to suppose that Peter meant to make his observation concerning Paul's Epistles generally, of which he presumed some might, and some might not, have come to the knowledge of those to whom he wrote; still, it can hardly be disputed, that his phraseology becomes much more natural, if we suppose a current collection of the Epistles.—T.

even the idea that one or two spurious, forged Epistles may have obtained a place in the collection, is hardly to be reconciled with the universal acknowledgment of all the Epistles in the church of ancient times. Consider only, how universally Paul was known in the early church! From Spain (which in all probability he visited), he had travelled about through Italy and all Greece to the remotest countries of Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia; he had resided for years in some of the large cities of the then known world, in Rome, Corinth, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Antioch, Cæsarea, Jerusalem; he had everywhere founded numerous churches, and maintained the most active intercourse with them. How, then, when he was so well known, could a work be forged in his name, with any prospect of its being generally acknowledged? The impossibility of this occurrence is the more evident, from the fact that all Paul's Epistles are addressed to important churches, or to persons living in well-known places. If those who received the Epistles were not always designated, then it might be supposed that some spurious ones obtained general circulation. No one, perhaps, could then say with certainty, whether Paul wrote such a particular Epistle or not; for it is not conceivable that Paul should at once have told everybody he knew how many Epistles he had written; and thus one might be personally acquainted with Paul, and still be deceived by an artfully-contrived Epistle. But take the case as it is. Were the Epistle to the Ephesians, against which, as we shall see, objections have been raised, really spurious, forged in Paul's name, we readily admit that it might have been received as genuine in the whole church beside, for it is as like Paul's Epistles as one egg is like another; but could it have been acknowledged as genuine in Ephesus itself, and the Asiatic churches connected with the Ephesians? Can we suppose that the Ephesians had so little regard for the great founder of their church, that they did not even know whether their beloved preacher had or had not written them a letter while in bonds? And can they have been so totally wanting in sensibility to friendship and love, as not to preserve the apostle's communication, when every man, at all susceptible of emotions of friendship, is anxious to preserve what has been traced by a beloved hand? It is hence plain, that a spurious Epistle to the Ephesians must have been known in Ephesus as

what it really was, a forged production ; and it is impossible to suppose, that if the Epistle had been disputed by any considerable church, and particularly by the very one to which it purported to have been sent, the opposition should have been so completely suppressed. The declaration of the Ephesian church that they had received no such Epistle, that they had not the original in their archives, would have been sufficient to destroy its credit.

To this it is added, that all the Epistles of Paul go beyond general expressions, such as may be easily invented ; that they exhibit a definite concrete¹ purport, which has reference to the particular wants of each church, and its manifestations as to Christian life. Such representations of actual facts, in regard to the ancient churches, can have proceeded only from immediate contact with them, and consequently certify us of the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles. With all that is of a special nature, however, in each particular Epistle of Paul, there is observable, in all together, a uniformity of style, and a unity in doctrinal ideas, which wholly prevents suspicion respecting the genuineness of the epistolary collection. For the usual reason of forging writings in the name of another is, that the forger wishes to give currency to a favourite idea under some celebrated name. In no Epistle, however, is there any prominent idea which is remote from the circle of Pauline doctrine, and seems to be a foreign idea clothed with the costume of Paul's style. We rather find every where the same main thoughts which actuated the life of Paul, running through the entire collection, and giving their stamp to the whole.

The principal evidence, however, of the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles, regarded in a historical light, is the circumstance, that we can assign to the Epistles their exact places in the life of the Apostle Paul by following the Acts of the Apostles. Thus are they most fully and firmly bound one to another, and all to the Acts of the Apostles. This arrangement of the individual Epistles in accordance with the thread of

¹ This term, in the sense in which it is here used, is borrowed from logic. In that science, it is known, abstract and concrete terms are contra-distinguished. An abstract term is one signifying some attribute, without reference to any particular subject ; a concrete term designates both the attribute and the subject to which it belongs.—T.

Paul's life, is effected in such a manner as to show in chronological order the occasions of their composition, and their strict relations to his known movements.

Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, who, as is well known, was at first named Saul, was a native Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, and was born in Tarsus in Cilicia. In order to perfect himself in the knowledge of the law of his native country, he early betook himself to Jerusalem, where he was taught by the celebrated Gamaliel. His zeal for the hereditary observances of his countrymen caused him to persecute the Christians, as soon as he obtained knowledge of them, with all the vehemence of his fiery nature. At the death of *Stephen*, the first Christian martyr, he was busy keeping the clothes of his murderers while they stoned him. (Acts vii. 57 seq.) From Jerusalem Paul betook himself to Damascus, to stir up the Jews there also against the Christians; but the Lord Jesus appeared to him before the city in his divine glory, and showed him who it was that he persecuted. (Acts ix. 22—26). As Paul had not persecuted the Christians from intentional wickedness, or from carnal selfishness, contrary to his interior conviction, but rather with the honest idea that he was thereby doing God service, the divine light which enlightened his dark mind by this vision at once produced an entire change in his feelings. With the same ardent zeal for truth and right which he had manifested in persecuting the Gospel, he now defended it; though his zeal was indeed purified and made holier by the Spirit of the Lord. After a season of quiet reflection and repose, such as he needed to perceive the greatness of that internal change which he had undergone, and the depth of the new principle of life within him, Paul began to make known the conviction he had just obtained. It was in Antioch (about 44 A.D.) that Paul began formally to preach; and he taught in this city, along with Barnabas, a whole year. After a journey to Jerusalem, whither he carried money that had been collected for the poor in that city, the elders of the church at Antioch designated him as a messenger to the Gentiles; and he with Barnabas set out on the *first missionary expedition*, about 45 A.D. It extended no farther than the neighbouring countries of Asia Minor. Paul travelled through Cyprus to Perga in Pamphylia, and Antioch in Pisidia, and returned through Lystra, Derbe, and Attalia by

sea to Antioch. Consequently, on his first missionary enterprise, the apostle did not visit any of the cities or provinces to which he wrote Epistles. On his return to Antioch he found that some strict Jewish Christians had come thither from Jerusalem, and excited dissensions. Paul had begun to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and in such a way as to dispense with the observance of the Mosaic law as a necessary duty. Many Jewish Christians could not rise to the level of this evangelical freedom in regard to the external law. Even Peter at first adhered so strenuously to the forms of Jewish practice, that nothing but a vision could bring him to see, that under the New Testament, the Mosaic law, in regard to meats, had lost its external importance. (Acts x. 11 seq.) In order to come to a fixed decision on this important point, the church at Antioch determined that Paul and Barnabas, with several companions, should proceed to Jerusalem to present this question before the Apostles. They there declared what God had wrought by them among the Gentiles; Peter testified the same in regard to his labours; and James, the brother of our Lord, showed that it was foretold, in the prophecies of Scripture, that the Gentiles likewise should be called into the church of God. On these grounds the apostles, with the elders and all the church at Jerusalem, determined to send deputies to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, and communicated their judgment in a letter carried by them to the church at Antioch. This important transaction at Jerusalem, which publicly announced the character of Christianity as an universal religion, is called the *council of the Apostles*. It was held about the year 52 A.D. The decision of this apostolic body was of the utmost consequence to the Apostle Paul, as in his subsequent labours he had to contend constantly with narrow-minded Jewish Christians, who wished to impose the Mosaic law upon the Gentiles also as essential to salvation. Against these Paul now advanced, not only his own personal influence, but the authority of all the apostles. This, at least, was effected thereby—that the supporters of the ceremonial law and its perpetual validity were compelled to secede from the universal apostolic church, and form themselves into a distinct sect. It is true, however, that their opposition to the apostle Paul was continued with extreme obstinacy; and we find in his Epistles numberless allusions to the persecutions which he encountered at their hand.

Soon after the apostolic council (53 A.D.) Paul undertook his *second* great journey. He separated from Barnabas, who united with his kinsman Mark in preaching the Gospel. Paul took Silas as his companion instead of Barnabas. He directed his course first to the churches founded on his previous journey; and thence onward to *Galatia*, and to Troas, on the western coast of Asia Minor. Thence the Lord conducted him, by a vision in a dream, into Macedonia, where he founded the church of *Philippi*; and then went to *Thessalonica*. (Acts x. 10 seq. xvii. 1 seq.) Unfortunately, Paul could remain only about three weeks in the latter city, for, as he met with much success among the proselytes that had connected themselves with the Jewish synagogues, there arose an uproar against him among the Jews, who actually compelled him to leave the city, and flee to Beræa. (Acts xvii. 10.) As, however, the Jews in this place likewise vented their rage against the apostle of our Lord, Paul betook himself to Athens, where also some hearts were warmed by the fire of his preaching. He next proceeded onward to Corinth. Here, in one of the great cities of antiquity, where luxury and debauchery had reached their highest pitch, but where, on that very account, a strong desire for salvation was readily excited, Paul laboured with remarkable success for more than a year and a half. He found there a Jewish family from Rome, Aquila, and his wife Priscilla, celebrated in the history of the ancient church. As Aquila pursued the same craft with Paul, the latter lived and wrought with him, and besides discoursed in the house of a certain Justus. From hence Paul wrote the first Epistles among those still preserved to us, viz. the two Epistles to the Thessalonians. Now, if we compare the tenor of the Epistles with the situation of the Apostle, and their relation to the church at Thessalonica, we shall find them throughout conformable to the circumstances. As Paul was unable to preach in Thessalonica more than three weeks, he must naturally have been very anxious respecting the fate of those who believed in that city; he feared that they might again fall away on account of the persecutions which threatened them. Hence his apprehensions had already induced him, as soon as he arrived at Athens, to send Timothy from thence to Thessalonica, in order to learn what was really the condition of the church. Timothy rejoined him at Corinth; and his mind being set at rest by the information which Timothy communi-

cated, he wrote the first Epistle, for the purpose of confirming and establishing the Thessalonians in the faith to which they had so faithfully adhered. (Acts xvii. 15; xviii. 5; 1 Thess. iii. 2, 5, 6.) It is a circumstance entirely consonant with what we must suppose to have been the situation of the Christians in Thessalonica, that they did not rightly comprehend the doctrine of our Lord's resurrection. This would naturally be the case from the shortness of the period during which they enjoyed the apostle's instructions. (1 Thess. iv. 13 seq.) They feared that those believers who might die before the coming of our Lord, would be shut out from the joys attendant on the Messiah's reign upon earth. The apostle, however, sets them right in regard to their fear, showing them that there would be a twofold resurrection. Those who had fallen asleep in faith respecting the Saviour, would not rest till the general resurrection, but would be raised up at the coming of Christ, and would behold the Lord with those who were alive. The same subject also soon afterward caused the apostle Paul to write the *second Epistle* to the Christians at Thessalonica, also from Corinth. The explanation of Paul had indeed quieted the apprehension of the believers of that city in regard to those of their number who met with an early death; but some expressions used by Paul in his first Epistle (particularly 1 Thess. iv. 17), together with false rumours respecting his view of the proximity of our Lord's coming, had led some susceptible minds to the idea that this important event not only *might*, but *must*, take place very soon. Thus they openly designated the period of our Lord's return, in total contrariety to Paul's meaning, who did indeed, with them, hope and ardently desire that our Lord might come in their time, and by no means stated expressly that he would not do so, since that would have been a negative determination of the point; but maintained the *possibility* that he would, and founded thereon, after the example of Christ himself, an exhortation to constant watchfulness. In order, therefore, to moderate the excessive disposition of the Christians at Thessalonica to look upon this great event as *necessarily* about to take place in their own time, Paul presented to view certain things which must all take place before it. From the consideration of these points, it could not but be evident to the Thessalonians, that this event could not take place so suddenly as they anticipated, and thus their excited minds would probably

be quieted. In these respects, as regards the state of things at that time, the two Epistles possess entire and undeniable historical keeping; and we shall not err widely from the truth if we assign their composition to the years 54 and 55 of the Christian era.

From Corinth the apostle Paul now returned to Antioch, whence he had been sent. (Acts xviii. 22.) Without, however, remaining long at rest, he in the following year (57 A.D.) entered upon his *third missionary tour*, going first to Galatia again, where he had preached on his second tour, and then to the wealthy and celebrated city of *Ephesus*, where he abode more than two years. From this city Paul wrote first to the *Galatians*, and subsequently to the *Corinthians*. The Epistle to the Galatians was occasioned by those same Jewish Christians, of whom we have before remarked, that they constantly strove to cast hindrances in the way of Paul's operations. The Galatian churches, which Paul, on his second visit to Galatia (Gal. iv. 13), had found walking in the true faith, had been misled by these men in regard to the requirements of religion. Through the idea that the observance of the Jewish ceremonial law was essential to salvation, the Galatian Christians were led to regard circumcision, the solemnisation of the Sabbath and of the Jewish feasts, and other ordinances of the Old Testament, which the New Testament valued only from their spiritual signification, as of worth in an external view, and in this way suffered themselves to lose sight of the interior life of faith. The object of the apostle, therefore, in his Epistle, was to develop thoroughly to the Galatians the relation between the law and the Gospel, and to show that, in the spiritual freedom conferred by the latter, the external rites of the former might, indeed, be observed, but that they must be observed in a higher manner, i.e. spiritually. Previously, however, he makes some remarks respecting himself personally. For, as the Jewish Christians presumed to dispute Paul's apostolic authority, he found himself compelled to vindicate it by a historical account of himself. He states (i. 12 seq.), that he did not receive his Gospel from man, but immediately from God; that at first he had persecuted the church of God, but that God, who had called him from his mother's womb, had been pleased to reveal his Son in him, that he might preach him to the heathen, through the Gospel. This evidently refers to the event of our Lord's appearance to Paul near Damascus, on

which occasion the Lord said to him, "I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me." (Acts xxvi. 15—18.) This reference to so peculiar occurrences in Paul's life exhibits a sufficient security for the genuineness of this Epistle; and, in connection with its entire contents, as also with its style, has sufficed to place it for ever beyond suspicion.

An occasion equally sad in respect to the apostle gave rise to the *first Epistle to the Corinthians*, which was likewise written from Ephesus. Before the first of the Epistles which are in our possession, Paul had written another to Corinth (1 Cor. v. 9), which, however, has perished. We have, indeed, a *pretended* Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, which claims to be this lost Epistle, but a slight examination is sufficient to manifest its spuriousness. Moreover, this Epistle of Paul was regarded as lost by all Christian antiquity. This first Epistle, as is shown by 1 Cor. v. 1—9, was occasioned by the circumstance, that an individual in the Corinthian church had matrimonial intercourse with his mother-in-law, the wife of his deceased father. Paul pointed out to the church the necessity of excluding from among them him who sustained this incestuous relation, that he might be awakened to penitence. To this Epistle of Paul, the Corinthian Christians replied in such a way, as to show plainly that they misunderstood some parts of it, particularly what Paul had said respecting the avoidance of lasciviousness. These misapprehensions are corrected by Paul in the *first* of the two Epistles which have been preserved to us. He likewise speaks in this same letter of another important circumstance in regard to the Corinthian church, which presents considerable coincidence with the situation of the Christians in Galatia. It is that some of the Jewish Christians, who had excited dissensions among the believers there, had come to Corinth also. True, some had remained faithful to Paul; but others appealed, in contradiction of his authority, to Peter (Cephas), although he agreed

perfectly with Paul in his views respecting the law. They probably objected to the Apostle Paul, as did the Jewish Christians in Galatia, that he had not, like Peter, known our Lord personally. Besides these two parties, Paul mentions two others (1 Cor. i. 12), the distinctive characteristics of which, however, are uncertain. There were, therefore, divisions in the Corinthian church, and from these had proceeded manifold disorders. Paul's first Epistle is occupied with the reconciliation of the former, and the removal of the latter.

Our first Epistle to the Corinthians comprises such an abundance of peculiar circumstances entirely conformable with the situation of the church in its earliest days, that we cannot for a moment suppose it possible that it is a forgery. Moreover, particular facts mentioned in it coincide most exactly with the events of Paul's life, as known from the Acts of the Apostles. Thus, according to Acts xix. 22, he sent away his two companions, Timothy and Erastus, from Ephesus, a short time before he himself left the city; and, according to 1 Cor. iv. 17, likewise, he had despatched Timothy to the Corinthians. According to the same passage in the Acts, Paul purposed soon to leave Ephesus, and travel through Achaia (this was the Greek province in which Corinth was situated) to Jerusalem, and the same thing is indicated by 1 Cor. xvi. 5. Thus, all circumstances unite to give a sure historical basis to the Epistle. As its composition must be placed a little before Paul's departure from Ephesus, it was probably written about 59 A.D., while the Epistle to the Galatians may have been written about the year 58 A.D.

Before the Apostle Paul left Ephesus, then he sent Titus with a special commission to Corinth. He hoped to be able to wait for him in Ephesus, in order to receive an account of the troubled state of affairs in the Corinthian church, and of the reception which his Epistle encountered. But a sudden uproar created by Demetrius the silver-smith (Acts xix. 24 seq.), who saw himself injured in respect to the gains which he derived from the sale of small silver models of the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus, compelled him to leave the city earlier than he wished. In Macedonia, however, whither Paul immediately betook himself, he again met with Titus, who then informed him particularly of the condition of the church at Corinth, and the impression which his epistle had produced. This account induced the

Apostle to write the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, from Macedonia. The contents of this other Epistle, which was written a few months after the first, bear so close a relation to the contents of the first, that the identity of the author is, thereby alone, made sufficiently evident. In the second chapter, e.g., we find mention again of the incestuous person, whom Paul had enjoined it upon the church to exclude from communion with them. As he had now been excommunicated, Paul speaks in his behalf, that he might not sink into utter despondency (2 Cor. ii. 7). Of most importance, however, are the particular expressions in regard to those Jewish Christians who desolated the Corinthian church as well as others. Titus had informed the Apostle with what an arrogant disposition they had received his letter. Against these, therefore, he expresses himself with the utmost severity, while he treats those who remained faithful to the truth, with suavity and great kindness. In rebuking the perversity of these Judaizers, he feels it necessary to speak of himself; for these proud sectaries not only rejected the apostolic authority of Paul, but also sought by their calumnies to deprive him of the honour of being the most successful labourer in our Lord's vineyard. With noble plainness, therefore, Paul boasts of all that the Lord had done for him and through him; and the further removed this plainness was from false humility, and the less he avoided giving ground for the imputation of *appearing* arrogant and self-conceited, the more likely was his account of himself to make an impression upon all his opponents. We do not know definitely what effect this Epistle produced upon the state of things at Corinth; but, from the subsequent flourishing condition of the Corinthian church, we may with great probability infer that Paul's Epistle contributed essentially to the annihilation of divisions. At all events, the Epistle is so completely Pauline, and harmonises so exactly with all known historical circumstances, that its genuineness has never been contested either in ancient or modern times.

What was not effected by the Epistle of Paul to the church of Corinth, was undoubtedly accomplished by the Apostle's personal presence in this metropolis. For, from Macedonia Paul went to Achaia (Acts xx. 3), and abode there three months. The greater part of this time he certainly spent in Corinth, and from hence he wrote the *Epistle to the Romans*, shortly before his departure from Corinth for Jerusalem in order to carry a collec-

tion of alms for the poor of that city (Acts xxiv. 17 seq., Rom. xv. 25, 26). This important Epistle (viz., that to the Romans) bears the stamp of a genuine apostolic letter so completely in both thought and language, that neither ancient nor modern times have advanced a single doubt as to its origin. The particular doctrine which Paul presented to view more frequently and more prominently than any other apostle, viz., that man is saved by faith in him who was crucified and rose again, and not by the works of the law, either ceremonial or moral, forms the central topic of the Epistle to the Romans; and, moreover, all the historical allusions which occur in it are entirely suitable to the circumstances under which it was written. Paul, e.g., according to this Epistle, (Rom. i. 12, 15; xxiii. seq.) had not yet been in Rome when he wrote it; and this agrees exactly with the statement of the Apostle in Acts xix. 21. The many persons whom he salutes at the end of the Epistle, he became acquainted with from his numerous travels in Asia Minor and Greece; for, as there was a general conflux to Rome from all quarters, and also a general dispersion thence, it being the centre of the world, there was no city in which Romans did not reside, or of whose inhabitants many were not constrained by circumstances to journey to Rome, or to establish themselves there as residents. On account of this importance of the city of Rome, which must necessarily have been communicated to the church in that place, there is sufficient proof of the genuineness of this Epistle in the single circumstance that this church, in which Paul afterwards abode some years, never contradicted the universal opinion that Paul wrote this Epistle to them, but rather rejoiced in being honoured with such an apostolic communication.

Hitherto we have seen the celebrated apostle of the Gentiles constantly labouring with freedom and boldness; but his departure from Corinth brought upon him a long and cruel imprisonment. For Paul immediately returned from Corinth to Macedonia, embarked there at Philippi (Acts xx. 3 seq.) and sailed along the coasts of Asia Minor. At Miletus he called to him the elders of the church of Ephesus (Acts xx. 17 seq.) and took pathetic leave of them; for he was persuaded that he should never again see these beloved brethren (xx. 38). About the year 60 A.D. the Apostle arrived at Jerusalem, having passed through Cæsarea; but was there immediately arrested (Acts xxii.) and carried

back to Cæsarea (Acts xxiii. 31 seq.) Here he was indeed examined by the proconsul Felix; but, as he could not pronounce sentence against him and hesitated to release him, Paul remained two years in captivity. At the end of that time there came another proconsul, Porcius Festus, to Cæsarea. He commenced the examination anew, but when the apostle, as a Roman citizen, appealed to Cæsar, he sent him to Rome. This was about 62 A.D. On the voyage thither, Paul, together with the Roman soldiers who accompanied him, suffered shipwreck, and they were compelled to pass the winter on the island of Malta. Paul did not, therefore, arrive at Rome before the commencement of the following year, and was there again kept as a prisoner for two years, i. e. till 65 A.D., before his case was decided. Still his confinement at Rome was not so strict as that at Cæsarea. He was permitted to hire a dwelling in the city, to go about, speak, and write as he pleased; only, he was always accompanied by a soldier. Luke alone details all these events in the last chapters of the Acts, with very great minuteness. From Paul's Epistles we learn nothing respecting this period; for Paul seems not to have written at all from Cæsarea. Probably the strict duration in which he was held did not permit any communication by writing. In the providence of God, this long confinement may have served to acquaint Paul with himself, with the depths of his own interior being. For, the manner of life which Paul led and was obliged to lead, the perpetual bustle of travel, his constant efforts in regard to others, might have injured him by dissipation of his thoughts, and might, so to speak, have exhausted the fulness of his spirit, had he not possessed some quiet seasons in which, while his attention was turned wholly upon himself, he might be spiritually replenished and invigorated for future seasons of intense outward exertion.

But from the other of the two places where Paul was compelled to remain a prisoner for a long period, i. e. Rome, he certainly wrote several Epistles, viz. *the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon*. Still, although in these Epistles mention is made of some historical particulars, he supposes the occurrences in regard to himself to be generally known among the Christians of the churches in Macedonia and Asia Minor, and therefore does not enter into details respecting them. Unfortunately Luke closed his book of Acts at the point when Paul had lived two years as a prisoner at Rome; and therefore,

in further designating the historical connection of Paul's Epistles, we are not able to state the circumstances of time and place with so much precision and certainty as hitherto. This circumstance, likewise, explains how, in such a state of things, the remaining Epistles of Paul afford more room to doubt of their genuineness than was the case in regard to those which, we see, well and easily fall into the history of Paul as related in the Acts. We shall therefore devote separate consideration to those Epistles.

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION.—OF THE PAULINE EPISTLES COMPOSED DURING AND AFTER PAUL'S IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

OF the Epistles composed by Paul during his imprisonment at Rome, the Epistles to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*, can be easily shown with sufficient certainty to be genuine writings of the Apostle. First, as to the Epistle to the *Philippians*, Paul clearly represents himself therein, not only as a prisoner, but also as a prisoner at Rome; for he speaks of the barracks occupied by the imperial guards (the *Praetorium*: Luther translates the word by *Richt-haus*, or hall of justice, Phil. i. 13), into which the fame of his imprisonment had extended itself. Probably Paul had won over to the gospel the soldiers set to guard him, to whom he was wont to preach, and, through these, others in the camp may have been converted. Even the imperial palace itself is mentioned by Paul (Phil. iv. 22,) as having been already penetrated by the seeds of the word of God. These clear allusions leave not the slightest doubt that the Epistle was written from Rome. Nor can any doubt remain as to the question, whether it was really written to the inhabitants of the Macedonian city *Philippi*. For, according to Acts xvi. 12 seq. the apostle's labours in this city had been particularly blessed. The Lord at once opened the heart of Lydia, so that she believed the preaching of Paul. An unfortunate occurrence respecting a damsel possessed with a spirit of divination, which the Apostle expelled, constrained him to leave the city. The church at *Philippi*, however, always preserved a particular at-

tachment to the Apostle Paul, and his acknowledgment of this fact runs through the whole of his letter to them. The Apostle calls them his brethren dearly beloved and longed for, his joy and crown (Phil. iv. 1), and thanks the Philippian Christians that they so faithfully had respect to his bodily necessities (Phil. iv. 15, 16). These characteristics are decisive in favour of the genuineness of the Epistle, which, moreover, has not been contested either in ancient or modern times.

The case is the same in regard to the *Epistle to the Colossians*. This church was not founded by Paul in person; as he himself indicates in Col. ii. 1. He had indeed been in Phrygia, but had not visited the city of Colosse on his journey through this province of Asia Minor. Paul nevertheless wrote to them, as also to the Romans, in part from universal Christian love, which called upon him to acknowledge the members of every church of Christ as brethren, and in part from the special reason, that the Gospel had been carried to Colosse by disciples of his, particularly *Epaphras*. The immediate occasion of his Epistle, however, was, that heretics threatened to draw away the church from the true faith. These individuals were not of the ordinary Judaizing class; along with much that was Jewish, they had some Gnostic characteristics. Now Phrygia is the precise spot where, from the earliest times downward, we find a prevalent tendency to a fantastic apprehension of religion. Thus the circumstance that, according to Paul's representation, men of this stamp had gained influence in Colosse, suits perfectly well with what we know of that city. Nor is it otherwise than very natural, that few particular allusions occur in the Epistle, as he was not personally known to the church. He however mentions his imprisonment, and sends salutations also from some persons of their acquaintance who were in his vicinity, among others from Aristarchus (Col. iv. 10), who, as we learn from the Acts, had come to Rome with Paul and Luke (xxvii. 1). The latter companion of Paul likewise salutes the believers in Phrygia (iv. 14). Of individuals themselves resident in Colosse, he saluted especially *Archippus* (iv. 17), who occupied some ministry in the church. Concerning this man, as also concerning *Onesimus*, whom Paul mentions (Col. iv. 9), we gain more particular information from the Epistle to Philemon. In this Epistle to the Colossians, likewise, every thing harmonises so exactly with Paul's circumstances in general, and his relation to the church which he addressed

in particular, that no one has ever been led to question its genuineness, either in ancient or modern days.

With the same entire unanimity has the genuineness of Paul's *Epistle to Philemon* likewise been always admitted. This delightful little Epistle so clearly exhibits all the characteristics of the great Apostle, and is so utterly free from everything which would make it probable that any person could have a motive in forging it, that no one would ever entertain the idea of denying that Paul was its author. Philemon, to whom the Epistle is addressed, probably lived in Colosse, for that Archippus, who held an office in the church at Colosse, appears here as his son, and Appia as his wife (Phil. v. 2). Probably Philemon was an opulent man; for he had so spacious a house, that it accommodated the assemblies of believers. Paul wrote this Epistle, likewise, in confinement (v. 13), and sends salutations from all those who, according to the Acts and the Epistle to the Colossians, were in his vicinity (v. 23, 24). Onesimus, who had fled from the relation of bondage which he had sustained towards Philemon in Colosse, Paul sends back to his master, whom he informs that his slave had been led by him to obey the Gospel, so that Philemon is to receive back again as a brother him whom he had lost as a slave. The whole of this small Epistle comprises, indeed, no important doctrinal contents; but it is an exhibition of interior, deep feeling, and delicate regard to circumstances on the part of the Apostle, and as such has always been very dear and valuable to the church.

In regard to the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, however, the case is totally different from what it is in regard to the three other Epistles sent from Rome. There are so many remarkable circumstances in relation to this Epistle, that we can easily comprehend how its genuineness has been often brought in question. Still, all the doubts which may have been excited are completely removed on a closer examination, so that it can by no means be denied that the Epistle was written by the Apostle, even if its actual destination to Ephesus cannot be established.

If it be considered that Paul, as we saw above in the historical account of the Apostle's life, was twice in Ephesus, and that once he even resided there for about three years, it must certainly appear very strange that, in an Epistle to this church, of the elders of which Paul had taken leave in so pathetic a manner (Acts xx. 17), there should be found no salutations. In

writing to the Romans, Paul, though he had never been at Rome, sent salutations to so many persons that their names fill an entire chapter, while in this Epistle not a single person is greeted. Moreover, there are no personal and confidential allusions in any part of the Epistle. Paul appears only in the general relation of a Christian teacher and a friend to his readers. There is certainly something extremely strange in this character of the Epistle, particularly, moreover, as that which we should especially expect to find in the Epistle, viz. allusion to heretics, against which Paul had so expressly warned the Ephesian elders, is entirely wanting (Acts xx. 29 seq.)

The difficulties are increased when we know what was the case originally concerning the address to the readers of the Epistle (Eph. i. 1). Instead of "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, to the saints which are at *Ephesus*," as it stands in most copies, Marcion, in his MS., read: "to the saints at *Laodicea*." In other MSS. there was no name at all, neither Ephesus, nor Laodicea; and in these the inscription of the Epistle ran thus: "Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, to the saints which dwell at ———." Instead of the name was a vacant space, which, however, was often neglected by the copyists, who thus perplexed the matter still further.

In addition to all this, if the Epistle to the Ephesians be compared with that to the Colossians, we shall find the same fundamental thought, and often even the same train of ideas, only the first is more minute and expanded, while in the Epistle to the Colossians the thoughts are more concisely and briefly presented. On account of this relative character it has been declared that the Epistle to the Ephesians is probably only an enlargement of the Epistle to the Colossians, made with a special design by some other hand. But though for a moment such supposition might not appear altogether unfounded, its plausibility is completely dissipated when the peculiar character of the Epistle is made apparent by a right and thorough notion of its origin. The Epistle to the Ephesians is undoubtedly what is termed a circular letter, directed not to a single church but to many at once. In such a letter, therefore, there could be no personal allusions, because what might interest one circle of readers might be unintelligible to another. In this Epistle, therefore, Paul adheres exclusively to generalities, and touches only on such topics as would be of interest to all members of the churches for whom

the Epistle was intended. Now, on the supposition that Ephesus and Laodicea were of the number of those churches for which the Epistle was intended, nothing is more easy of explanation than the fact, that the name of the former was in the inscription of some MSS., and the name of the latter in that of others. The messenger who carried the apostolic letter may have taken several copies with him, in which the space for the name of the place was not filled out, and remained thus until they were delivered, when the name of the church which received any particular one was added to it. The diffusion of the Epistle abroad was mainly from the capital city Ephesus; and hence the name Ephesus got into the inscription of most of the MSS. Marcion, however, came into possession of a transcript from the copy which was delivered at Laodicea, and for this reason he read Laodicea instead of Ephesus in the inscription. In some copies there may have been a total neglect to fill up the spaces left vacant for the names; and in this way some MSS. got into circulation in which no city was designated.

It is seen how satisfactorily and completely, on this single supposition, that the Epistle to the Ephesians was a circular letter, our difficulties disappear at once. It is true the striking resemblance of the Epistle to that to the Colossians still remains; and in recent times the greatest stress has been laid on this very point. Both Epistles have essentially the same contents, only the Epistle to the Ephesians is more full and minute, as has been already remarked. But let it be considered that the two Epistles were written not only about the same time, but under entirely similar circumstances. Is it then to be wondered at, that there is a striking similarity in contents and arrangement? What purpose could there have been in forging or counterfeiting an Epistle, in which the fraudulent author said the same things which were contained in a genuine Epistle of the man to whom he wished that his production should be ascribed? It is, therefore, clear that there is nothing in this resemblance of the Epistle to the Ephesians to that to the Colossians, which can justify us in inferring the spuriousness of either. For, whether we suppose that the longest (that to the Ephesians) was written first, and that Paul afterwards repeated the same thoughts in the shortest (that to the Colossians); or, *vice versa*, that he wrote the shortest first, and afterwards felt himself called upon to state the same ideas more at length in the other, there is not

the least harm done by their similarity to each other, particularly as the Epistle to the Ephesians contains many ideas wholly peculiar to the Apostle Paul, which are wanting in the Epistle to the Colossians, and this too in his own phraseology and style.

It is to be observed, further, that Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians mentions a letter to the church at Laodicea, and charges the former to communicate their Epistle to the believers in Laodicea, and in return to request the Epistle addressed to them. Now, because, as we have seen, Marcion regarded the Epistle to the Ephesians as having been directed to the Laodiceans, it has been supposed that our Epistle to the Ephesians was the one meant by Paul. But, plausible as this may appear at first sight, it is still improbable, on a closer examination, that it is correct; for, first, the great similarity between the two Epistles makes against it, as this must evidently have rendered their mutual transfer of less consequence. Then, too, it is not common to direct special salutations to be given to those to whom we write ourselves at the same time, which is done by Paul in relation to the Laodiceans in his letter to the Colossians (*passim*). Moreover, our Epistle to the Ephesians, as a circular letter, could not well be designated by the name, Epistle to the Laodiceans. Thus, it is far more probable that this letter was a separate one, which has been lost to us.

As early as the time of Jerome, there existed a separate Epistle to the Laodiceans, different from that to the Ephesians. But the father just mentioned remarks, that all without exception reject it. It is probable, therefore, that, on account of the passage, Col. iv. 15, 16, some one had forged an Epistle to the Laodiceans, just as was the case, as we have before stated, with the first Epistle to the Corinthians which was lost.

There remain, therefore, only the three Epistles of the Apostle, which are usually comprehended under the title of *Pastoral Letters*, viz. the two to Timothy, and that to Titus. They are all three occupied with a consideration of the duties of a pastor of the church of Christ, and on account of this common purport are classed under the general designation which we have mentioned. In a close investigation of the contents and the historical allusions of these Epistles there arise very many difficulties, on which account they have become subject to doubt beyond all the other Pauline Epistles. Ancient tradition is certainly wholly in favour of their genuineness, as in relation to the Epistle to the

Ephesians; for the circumstance, that Marcion did not have them in his canon, is not regarded as important, even by opponents of the Epistles, who are at all impartial. It was undoubtedly only through accident that these Epistles remained unknown to him, and to his native city, Sinope, upon the Black Sea; for had he possessed historical reasons against its reception, they could not have been so completely lost at a later period. We may here see, in fact, a very important evidence in behalf of the genuineness of these Epistles; for Timothy lived when Paul wrote to him, not in a distant, unknown place, but in Ephesus, one of the chief cities frequented by the Christians of the ancient church. The scene of the labours of Titus was the isle of Crete, which also, on account of its vicinity to Corinth, and to other important churches, maintained lively intercourse with the churches generally. Now, how Epistles directed to persons labouring in places of so much note, and holding so high a rank, as being assistants of the apostle, could gain the reputation of being genuine throughout the whole ancient church, when they were really forged in the name of the apostle, is indeed difficult of comprehension, as so many must have been able to expose the deception. Supposing, therefore, that on a close investigation of the contents of the Epistle, there should appear much that is strange, it must be considered as losing a great deal of its influence in relation to the question of the genuineness of the Epistles, from the fact that this is so firmly established by the tradition of the church.

Another circumstance to be premised, which is very much in favour of their genuineness, is, that in all the three Epistles there occurs a multitude of personal and particular allusions. Now, it is clear that an impostor, who was palming off his own Epistles as another's (for such is the language which we must use concerning the author of these three compositions, if they are not the work of Paul himself, since he expressly names himself as the author, besides indicating the fact in a manner not to be mistaken), would avoid as much as possible all special circumstances, because he would be too likely to betray himself in touching upon them, since particulars cannot be very minutely known to a stranger. Moreover, a forgery generally wants that graphic exactness which is exhibited so manifestly in writings that spring out of actually existing circumstances. Hence every unprejudiced person would, in the outset, think it very unlikely

that a writing was forged in which there occurred such special allusions as we find in 1 Tim. v. 23, where Paul says to Timothy, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." Of the same nature, also, is a passage in the second Epistle to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 13), in which the apostle complains that he had, through forgetfulness, left his cloak, some books, and parchments with a friend, and desires Timothy to take care of them. Plainly, such things are not forged; for to what end should any one give himself the useless trouble to invent such insignificant matters, if they did not actually happen, since they could not do either any harm or any good. In the same Epistle (2 Tim. iv. 20, 21), Paul sends salutations from many individuals, and gives various information respecting persons of their mutual acquaintance. "Erastus abode at Corinth," says Paul, "but Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick;" and he invites Timothy himself to come to him before winter. If any person invented all this, we must at least call him extremely inconsiderate, for he ought not certainly to have mentioned such noted cities, since the Christians who dwelt in them could learn, without any great difficulty, whether any one of the name of Trophimus was ever at Miletus with the apostle, and was left there by him sick, and whether Erastus abode at Corinth. The same is true of the Epistle to Titus, as one may be convinced by examining Titus iii. 12.

Still, let us look at the reasons which are advanced *against* the genuineness of these Epistles. Certain investigators have thought that there was in all three of them something not only in the phraseology, but in the style altogether, which cannot but be regarded as unlike Paul. The weakness of such statements, however, may be clearly inferred from the fact that another investigator, of no less acuteness, supposes the second Epistle to Timothy and the one to Titus to be really genuine Epistles of Paul, while the first to Timothy is spurious, and imitated from the other two. This second investigator, therefore, founds his argument for the spuriousness of the first of the three Epistles on the genuineness of the two others, thus overthrowing, by his own reasoning, the position of the former investigators in regard to the necessity of supposing them all spurious. The historical difficulties, however, which are discerned on close examination of the Epistles, are of more consequence. It is from these, properly, that all attacks upon these pastoral letters

have originated, and in these they find their excuse, only writers ought not to have so manifestly confounded *difficulties* with *positive arguments against the genuineness of a writing*.

As to the *First Epistle to Timothy*, the principal difficulty is, to point out a period in Paul's life exactly coinciding with the statement which the Apostle makes at the outset (i. 3). He says that when he went to Macedonia he left Timothy at Ephesus, to protect the true faith and thwart heretics in that city. Now we know, indeed, that when Demetrius the silver-smith drove Paul from Ephesus, he went to Macedonia; but it is impossible that he should then have left Timothy behind at Ephesus, since he sent him before himself to Macedonia with Erastus. Thus, when Paul wrote his *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* from Macedonia, Timothy was with him. (Comp. Acts xix. 22, 2 Cor. i. 1). Moreover, we are informed of no other journey of Paul from Ephesus to Macedonia, when he left Timothy behind in the city to watch over the church; and hence arises a difficulty in assigning this Epistle its proper place in Paul's life.

There are similar circumstances respecting the *Second Epistle*. This Epistle, too, is directed to Timothy at Ephesus. Paul clearly writes from Rome. (Comp. 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17, with 2 Tim. i. 16, 18, iv. 19). He was in bonds (i. 16), and was expecting a new examination of his cause. Now, he invites Timothy to come to him, and requests him to make haste and come before winter (iv. 13, 21). But, according to Col. i. 1, Philemon ver. 1, and Phil. i. 1, Timothy, at the time of Paul's imprisonment at Rome, as related by Luke in the Acts, was in Paul's company; and hence it seems impossible that Paul could have written to him at Ephesus. It is true Paul's imprisonment at Rome lasted two years, and it might be supposed that Timothy was for some time with him, and for some time away during his imprisonment; but there are other circumstances which make it very improbable that the *Second Epistle to Timothy* was written during the same imprisonment in which the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians were composed. According to 2 Tim. iv. 18, Paul had left at Troas, a cloak, books, and parchments, which Timothy was to bring with him when he came to Paul (v. 21). Now, before Paul's imprisonment at Rome, which lasted two years, he was also two years in Cæsarea. We should, therefore, be compelled to suppose that he had left these things behind at Troas, four years before.

But certainly it is probable that Paul would have made some other disposition of them in the mean time, if they were of any consequence to him. But even if we may suppose that Paul would send for clothing and books which had laid at Troas for years, it is out of the question that he should say in relation to a journey made four years before: "Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick." (2 Tim. iv. 20). Miletus was in the vicinity of Ephesus, at a distance from Rome where Paul was writing. Now, if Paul had not been in Miletus for four years, it is wholly impossible that he should have mentioned the illness of one whom he had left behind at Miletus so long a time before, because his case must long since have been decided. Similar difficulties present themselves, likewise, on a close examination of the *Epistle to Titus*. For Paul writes in this Epistle (i. 4, 5, iii. 12), that he himself had been in the island of Crete, and had left Titus there behind him for the same purpose which caused him to leave Timothy in Ephesus; and states that he intended to spend the winter in Nicopolis, whither he directs Titus to come and meet him. Now, it is true, Paul, according to the Acts (xxvii. 8), was once in Crete, but it was as a prisoner, and on a voyage. In these circumstances, therefore, he could not accomplish much; nor could he leave Titus behind, as on his voyage Titus was nowhere in his neighbourhood. Nothing is told us in any part of the New Testament history as to Paul's residence in Nicopolis, and it is the more difficult to come to any assurance respecting it from the fact, that there were so many cities of that name. Thus, this Epistle, likewise, cannot be assigned to its place in Paul's history, and therefore it is perfectly true, that there are difficulties incident to an examination of these pastoral letters; but, as we have before observed, difficulties are not equivalent to positive arguments against their genuineness. It is true they would be, were we so exactly and minutely acquainted with the history of the Apostle Paul, that such a difficulty in assigning an epistle its place among the circumstances of his life would be the same as an impossibility. If, for example, we knew with certainty that the Apostle Paul never resided in any city by the name of Nicopolis, we should be obliged to consider the Epistle to Titus, which purports to have been written from some place called Nicopolis, as spurious and forged.

But this is so far from being the case, that in those Epistles

of Paul which are admitted to be genuine, very many occurrences are noticed, of which we have no further information. A remarkable instance of this kind is the well-known passage, 2 Cor. xi. 23 seq., in which Paul states, that he had five times received of the Jews forty stripes save one, thrice being beaten with rods, once stoned, thrice suffered shipwreck, &c. &c. Of very few of these sufferings of Paul do we know the particulars. How much, therefore, of what took place in his life, may remain unknown to us. It is to be remembered, too, that the brief general statements given by Luke in the Acts extend over long periods in the apostle's life. At Corinth, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Rome, Paul abode for years. Now, as slight journeys abroad are, it is well known, commonly comprehended by historians in a residence at any particular place for a long period, may not this have been frequently the case in Luke's history? Many have thought this probable, and have therefore supposed short journeys from this or that place, and in this way have attempted to find some situation in Paul's life, which should appear suitable for the composition of one or another of the pastoral letters. We will not trouble our readers, however, with an enumeration of these different views, which, nevertheless, show that it is not *impossible* to designate some situation in which Paul might have written these Epistles. We choose rather to confine ourselves to the development of an important supposition by which a suitable period of time is obtained for all the three Epistles together, and their relation to each other is determined. This supposition is, that Paul was set at liberty from the first imprisonment at Rome related by Luke, (which had lasted two years when Luke finished his book of Acts,) performed important missionary tours afterward and was at last *imprisoned a second time at Rome*, and at this time died there a martyr's death. It is very evident that if we can in this way gain space of time for another journey to Asia and Crete, it will be easy to imagine the situations which gave rise to the first Epistle to Timothy and that to Titus. The second Epistle to Timothy must then have been written in Rome itself during the second imprisonment, and any remarkable expressions which it contains are then perfectly intelligible, if it be supposed that Paul wrote the Epistle after his arrival at Rome from Asia Minor. The only question is, whether this supposition, that Paul was a second time imprisoned at Rome, is a mere hypothesis, or

can be sustained by any historical evidence. Were it a mere conjecture, it must be admitted, it would be of little importance.

There are not wanting, however, some historical facts of such a nature as to confirm the supposition. First, we find it current among the Fathers of the fourth century. It is true, they do not expressly present historical grounds for their opinion; they seem rather to have inferred a second imprisonment at Rome from the second Epistle to Timothy. But, that they at once assumed a second imprisonment, when they might have hit upon other modes of explanation, seems to indicate a tradition, however obscure, in regard to the fact of its having occurred. Moreover, we are told by a very ancient writer of the Roman church, the apostolic Father Clemens Romanus, that Paul went to the farthest west. This must mean Spain. In the Epistle to the Romans (chap. xv.) Paul expresses a strong desire to visit that country. This he cannot have done before his first imprisonment; it is not at all improbable, therefore, that he may afterwards have journeyed to this country, the most western region of the then known world.

Whatever may be thought of this supposition, so much is clear—the difficulties with which the attentive reader meets with in the Epistles, are no arguments against their genuineness. Indeed every thing essential is in their favour. The internal similarity of the Epistles, however, makes it probable that they were composed about the same time, and the idea that they were written during the second imprisonment, of which we have spoken, accords very well with this supposition.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

OF the investigations of learned men respecting the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament, we have hitherto been able to give a very favourable account; but the case seems now to be different, in considering the investigations respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews. For, he who has been accustomed to reckon this epistle among those of Pauline origin (the Lutheran version, such as it now is, expressly attributing it to this apostle,

although Luther himself, as will be shown presently, held a different opinion), may be surprised at hearing that the latest, extremely thorough and generally impartial, investigations respecting this important Epistle, determine that Paul was not its author.¹ We have before remarked, that the genuineness of the Epistle to the Hebrews is not at all in question : the only inquiry is, who was its author. For he has neither named nor designated himself throughout the Epistle. Thus, even though Paul should not be considered the author, it does not follow that the Epistle is a forged, spurious one.

Now, that the case of this Epistle must be peculiar, is clear from the fact, that it was not admitted into the midst of the other Pauline Epistles. In the Greek Testament it does indeed come directly after the Epistle to Philemon, and thus by the side of the collection of Paul's Epistles (though Luther has placed it after the Epistles of Peter and John); but it is clear that this large and important Epistle would have been placed among the other large Epistles of the same apostle to whole churches, perhaps after the Epistles to the Corinthians, had it been originally regarded as a production of the apostle to the Gentiles.² Consequently, its position after the Epistle to Philemon, the smallest and most inconsiderable of Paul's private letters, shows plainly, that it was not generally reckoned as one of the Pauline Epistles, until after the collection of them was completed. However, all this is, of course, of an incidental nature; there are far more important reasons, which make it improbable that Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and to the consideration of these we will now direct our attention.

The *form* of the Epistle is, it is seen, entirely different from that of Paul's letters. He opens each of his Epistles, not only

¹ But see Professor Stuart's discussion of this point in his masterly Commentary upon the Epistle. See also an able discussion of it in a work published at London in 1830, entitled "Biblical Notes and Dissertations, &c." written by Joseph John Gurney, an Englishman, member of the Society of Friends. Mr Gurney's dissertation was republished in the Biblical Repository for July 1832 (Vol. II. p. 409).—TR.

² According to Epiphanius, a church-father of the fourth century, some MSS. placed the Epistle to the Hebrews *before the Epistles to Timothy*; probably only because it seemed to some copyists improper that an Epistle to a whole church should stand after Epistles to private individuals.

with his name and the title of his sacred office, but also with an apostolic salutation: "Grace be with you and peace from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ." Nothing of this kind is to be seen at the commencement of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It begins like a treatise (which indeed many have been inclined to suppose it to be), without any reference to its readers: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, &c." The conclusion bears more resemblance to Paul's Epistles; for it contains a salutation, such as those of the apostle, and announces a visit to the readers of the Epistle on the part of the author in company with Timothy. The writer sends a salutation on the part of the brethren *from* Italy; from whence it has been erroneously inferred that the Epistle was written in Italy, whereas the phraseology indicates exactly the contrary.¹ For the author would not have employed such an expression unless he was writing *out of* Italy in a place whither brethren had arrived *from* that country. The Epistle contains no particular salutations from one individual to another; but this is not strange, as it is addressed to so many. For the *Hebrews*, to whom the Epistle was written, were the Jewish Christians who lived in Palestine. Their benefit was intended by the entire contents of this profound Epistle. It analyzes thoroughly the relation of the Old Testament to the New.

Nevertheless, it may be said, no great stress ought to be laid upon the external *form* of the Epistle; Paul might for once have deviated from his usual custom. But the *historical evidence* is very decisive in regard to this Epistle. For, in the western church, and particularly the Roman, the Epistle to the Hebrews was not at all acknowledged as Paul's production until some time in the fourth century. It was through Augustine's means, who died so late as 430 A.D., that it first became common to ascribe it to Paul; and even this Father of the church some-

¹ The original Greek reads, *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*, which is translated in our English version "they of Italy." Olshausen considers it necessary to translate *ἀπὸ* *from*, making the whole expression to mean, *those who had come from Italy to some place where Paul was writing*. Consultation of a good Greek lexicon will cause any one to doubt whether there is any such necessity as Olshausen supposes. See, for example, in Passow, under the word *ἀπὸ*, such expressions as, *αἷμα ἀπὸ Τρώων*, the blood of the Trojans, *οἱ ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος*, they of Plato's party, &c.—Tr.

times speaks doubtfully of the Epistle, as do other Fathers after his time. Plainly this is very remarkable. For, if it be considered how well-known Paul was, and how deeply loved at Rome, and that he was twice imprisoned there for years, it will be evident that it must have been known in that city whether Paul was its author or not. Thus the testimony of this Roman church is of the highest importance in the question under examination. Now, it is observable, that Clement of Rome, an immediate disciple of Paul, makes very ample use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and even introduces long passages of it into his own Epistle to the Corinthians. This is indeed a very decisive proof of the high antiquity of the Epistle; but Clement does not mention the author of the writing from which he quoted, and therefore the use he has made of it has no further influence in regard to the question, who was its author. Still, he must certainly have liked the Epistle, and esteemed it very highly; otherwise he would not have been induced to embellish his own Epistle with large passages from it, which are interwoven with his train of thought, as though they were original.

That in the West there was general uncertainty in regard to the author of the Epistle, is shown by the circumstance, that an African Father of the church, Tertullian, names Barnabas as its author. Others, especially some orientals, ascribed it to Luke, and some to the before-mentioned Clement, though unfortunately without good reason. There was no uniform tradition in the West in regard to its authorship; it was, from conjecture alone, ascribed to various individuals.

The case was totally different with the Greek church in the East. The predominant opinion with this was that Paul was the author. It was the celebrated Fathers of the Alexandrian church especially, together with the Syrians, who made great use of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and referred it to the apostle Paul. The old Syriac version contains it in its canon. This circumstance is not to be overlooked, particularly as the Epistle is directed to the Christians in Palestine, from whom of course it might very easily come into the hands of the neighbouring Syrians and Egyptians. Historical testimony, however, in favour of any Epistle, must be sought for mainly in the place where it was composed, and that to which it was addressed. One of these furnishes evidence against the Pauline origin of the Epistle, and the other in its favour; a circumstance which,

as we shall see hereafter, is of no slight consequence in an inquiry respecting the canonical authority of the Epistle.

Although the Greek, and especially the Alexandrian, Fathers were favourably disposed towards the Epistle to the Hebrews, the learned among them admitted the great difference between it and the other Epistles of Paul. They explained this difference by supposing that Paul wrote the Epistle in Hebrew, and Luke translated it into Greek. This Evangelist was fixed upon as the translator, because, as was thought, a resemblance was discovered between his style and that of the Epistle. The supposition, however, is not at all probable; for the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews is so peculiarly Greek, that it cannot have been translated from the Hebrew. We may see, merely from the conjecture thus presented, that inquiring minds, in perusing the Epistle, came to doubt whether it was really Pauline in its character, even where it was commonly considered as a Pauline production.

Hence it was that our Luther, when he studied the Scriptures in a critical manner, renewed the doubts respecting the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews, after it had been regarded throughout the middle ages as the apostle Paul's production. He writes on this point as follows: As yet, we have mentioned only the principal, indubitably genuine books of the New Testament. The four following books, however,¹ have in times past held a different rank. And first, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not St Paul's, nor any apostle's, is proved by the tenor of v. 3 of chap. ii.: 'How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation, which at first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.' It is clear that he speaks of the apostles as though he were a disciple, to whom this salvation had come from the apostles, perhaps long after." (See Walch's Ed. Luther's Works, Th. xiv. p. 146.) The passage to which Luther refers is indeed remarkable, and has been employed by scholars of a more recent day to prove that Paul cannot have been the author of the Epistle. For we know that he always maintained strongly (particularly in the outset to the Epistle to the Galatians), in opposition to his Jewish adversaries, who presumed to dispute his apostolic

¹ He means, besides the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of James and Jude, and the Revelation of John.

authority, that he was not a disciple of the apostles, but had received everything from the immediate revelation of God. How then is it conceivable, that in Heb. ii. 3, he should have represented himself as a disciple of the apostle's; and this in an Epistle to Jewish Christians, before whom it was specially important for him to appear as a real apostle of our Lord? This circumstance, moreover, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to Jewish Christians, deprives of all probability that interpretation of the passage according to which Paul speaks merely out of courtesy, as though he himself was a disciple of the apostles, which in reality was the case only with his readers. For then Paul would have expressed himself in a manner very liable to be misapprehended; and that this should have happened when his relation to the Jewish Christians was so peculiar, is extremely improbable. Luther, with his free, bold disposition, which did indeed sometimes carry him beyond the limits of truth in his critical investigations, did not content himself with merely disputing the Pauline origin of the Epistle; he even ventured to institute conjectures respecting its author. He regarded the celebrated Apollos as its author; the same of whom mention is made in the Acts. In truth, this supposition possesses extreme probability, and has therefore, of all the hypotheses respecting the author of the Epistle, recommended itself most even to recent investigators. The book of Acts describes this man as having precisely that character of mind which the author of this Epistle must have had, to judge from its contents. He is stated (Acts xviii. 24) to have been by birth an Alexandrian, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures. Now, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews shows himself to have been thoroughly acquainted with the Old Testament, and eloquently maintains the deep and sublime ideas which it presents. According to the same passage, he constantly overcame the Jews in conversation with them, and proved publicly, by means of the Scriptures, that Jesus was the Christ. Undoubtedly, in these disputes he made use of just such forcible expositions of the Old Testament, as those of which we find so many in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and which were very commonly employed by the Alexandrians in particular. The idea that Titus, or Luke, or Clement, might have been the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews is untenable, for this reason, if there were no other, that these men were Gentiles by birth, and the

author declares himself a native Jew. There would be more reason for fixing upon Silas or Silvanus, who were, as we know, Paul's companions, or, likewise, upon Barnabas. For the last we have even one historical evidence, as we have already remarked. A Father of the church, Tertullian, expressly ascribes the Epistle to Barnabas. But, as we have an Epistle written by this assistant of the apostles, we are able to see from it with perfect certainty that he cannot be author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. His whole manner of writing and thinking is different from the course of ideas in this production. It is true there is nothing so decisive against Silas; but, too, there is nothing definite *in his favour*. His peculiar character of mind is nowhere described, as the character of Apollos is in the Acts of the Apostles.

The idea, therefore, that Silas was the author of the Epistle, is a wholly unsupported conjecture. It is true, too, it is merely a conjecture, that Apollos wrote it; but it is a conjecture more probable than could be required or wished in respect to opinions of any other nature than those in question.

But, though we could assign the name of the author, it would be of little consequence in our investigation. It is sufficient that we cannot suppose Paul to have been the author.

Here, however, arises the very difficult question, what we are to think of the *canonical authority* of the Epistle, if its author was not an apostle? for the primitive church would not receive the writings of any but these into the collection of sacred books; and those who rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, e. g. the Roman church, did it for the very reason, that they could not admit Paul to have been its author. *Must we then reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, or at least esteem it less highly than the other writings of the New Testament, because it was not written by Paul?* This inquiry merits the more careful consideration, because the contents of the Epistle are of a very profound and important nature to the church generally, and the evangelical church in particular. For the sacred doctrine of the high-priesthood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is, in this very Epistle to the Hebrews, treated of more at length, and more thoroughly, than in any other book of the New Testament. Hence, the circumstance that the Epistle is not from the pen of the apostle Paul might give rise to inferences against the validity of the doctrine which this Epistle in particular inculcates.

It must certainly be admitted that the ruling idea in the formation of the canon was to admit only apostolic productions. For although Mark and Luke, whose writings were acknowledged by the whole church, were not apostles, they were in intimate connection with Peter and Paul, and their works were therefore regarded as properly the productions of those apostles. And this principle was perfectly correct. Though it must be allowed that the Holy Spirit might exert its power on others besides the apostles, and might enable them to compose excellent productions, still it was wise in the ancient church to restrict the canon of the Holy Scriptures, which was to serve as the *norm* or *rule* of faith and practice, for the complete development of the kingdom of God, exclusively to apostolic writings. For the Apostles, as most immediately connected with our Saviour, had received into their souls in the greatest abundance and purity the Spirit of truth which flowed forth from him. The more distant the relation which individuals sustained to our Lord, the feebler the influence of the Spirit from above upon them, and the more easily might their acts be affected by other influences. It was therefore necessary that the church should admit as the norm of faith, only such writings as sprang from the most lively and purest operation of the Holy Spirit, as it was manifested in the apostles. Otherwise there would have been ground for fear lest errors, perhaps indeed of a slight character, might have crept in, and then been continued from generation to generation in the Holy Scriptures, and propagated as of sacred authority. It was such thoughts undoubtedly which induced some learned men to distinguish the Epistle to the Hebrews and certain other books of the New Testament, which were not adopted with perfect unanimity by the primitive church, from those which were properly canonical and universally acknowledged, denominating the former *deutero-canonical*. They probably regarded it as possible that some error had crept into these books, notwithstanding the excellence of their contents generally; and in order to obviate the influence of such errors they were desirous of introducing an external separation of these writings from those which were decidedly apostolical. But, with regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, we must say, that this separation appears totally unfounded. Probable as it certainly is, that Paul did not compose the Epistle, it is still certain that its author wrote it under the influence of Paul, and an influence indeed which exhibits itself still more

definitely than that of the same apostle over the writings of Luke, or of Peter over the Gospel of Mark. This position is sustained by history, as well as by the contents of the Epistle, in the most decisive manner.

On the score of history, in the first place, we cannot, except on the supposition that Paul had an essential share in the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, explain the remarkable circumstance that the entire oriental church attributed it to the apostle. This view continued to prevail in the East, even after it was very well known that the western churches, particularly that of Rome, held a different opinion. The tradition, that Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, cannot have rested on mere conjecture, since there was in fact much in the Epistle itself which constrained learned men, who in the main shared the prevalent opinion respecting the author of the Epistle, to resort to expedients for the purpose of upholding the general idea that Paul wrote the Epistle, and at the same time of solving the difficulties which this supposition involved. Such an expedient, for example, was the idea, of which we have before spoken, that Paul might have written the Epistle in Hebrew, so that we have only a translation of it. Let it be considered, too, that this opinion of the Pauline origin of the Epistle prevailed in the very countries to which its original readers belonged; and then no one will doubt that the only mode of explaining it is, to suppose Paul to have coöperated in the composition of the Epistle, and the first readers of it to have been aware of the fact, and on this account to have referred the Epistle to Paul himself.

To this is to be added, the character of the Epistle itself. For, although the ancient observation, that the style of the Epistle is not Pauline, is perfectly well-founded, still the tenor of the ideas bears a resemblance, which is not to be mistaken, to the writings of the great apostle of the Gentiles. If we merely keep in mind, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to Jewish Christians, while the other Pauline Epistles were all of them¹ written to churches the majority of whose members were Gentiles, we shall not discover the least thing in the Epistle which could

¹ Though the expression is thus general in the original, of course only those Epistles which are directed to churches can be here referred to. The phraseology is exceptionable, as some of Paul's letters are not directed to churches at all, but to individuals.—Th.

not have proceeded from the mind of Paul. Indeed, the main doctrine of the great apostle, that in the death of Jesus an offering of reconciliation was made for the whole world, that with and through it all the ceremonial observances of the Old Testament first obtained their fulfilment as types of what was to come, forms the central point of the Epistle to the Hebrews. If it be further considered, that there was always a certain distance of demeanour between the Apostle Paul and the Jewish Christians, even the best of them, it will be very easy to understand why Paul did not write to them himself; and still, it must have been his heart's desire to exhibit clearly and in suitable detail his views in regard to the law and its relation to Christianity, which were of a profound nature, and drawn directly from the genuine spirit of the Gospel. What more obvious mode of presenting these to the Hebrews, than through the medium of a disciple or faithful friend, who, like Apollos, had a correct apprehension of this relation between the old and new covenant.

Supposing this to have been the state of the case, all the circumstances in regard to the Epistle are explained. In the West it was known that Paul did not write the Epistle. On this account the western church denied that he was the author, without being able, however, to designate any other individual as the author. In the East, on the other hand, it was known that he had an influence in the composition of the Epistle; and moreover his spirit and his ideas were recognized in it. In the East, therefore, it was much used; in the West less. In our days we may impartially admit that Paul was not the writer of the Epistle, and still maintain its perfect canonical authority, since the apostle certainly exerted an essential influence over its composition.

Thus, though this Epistle belongs to the class of those which have not the unanimous voice of christian antiquity in favour of their apostolic origin, still it can be shown that this want of agreement did not arise from any really suspicious state of things, but was occasioned merely by the peculiar circumstances under which it was composed.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

It has already been observed, in the first chapter, that in early times the third collection of the writings of the New Testament was termed that of *the seven Catholic Epistles*. The Greek word *Catholic* means *general*, in opposition to *particular*. Now, as the church general, in opposition to individual heretical parties, was termed Catholic, so the same expression was used to denote those writings which, as universally acknowledged and used, it was designed to distinguish from those which were current only in particular circles.

The fact that those writings, which, in addition to the collections called the Gospel and the Apostle, were acknowledged to be genuine and apostolical, were thus united into one separate collection, produced this advantage, that it became thus more difficult ever to confound them with the many apocryphal writings which were spread abroad in the ancient church. In regard to the origin of this third collection, however, there is an obscurity which can never be entirely dissipated. At the end of the third and commencement of the fourth century, the collection of the seven Catholic Epistles first appears in history; but who formed it, and where it originated, we do not know. It is impossible, however, that it should have been *accidentally* formed, as the position of the Epistles is too peculiar for us to suppose this. The Epistle of James, which was by no means unanimously regarded as apostolic, holds the first place in the collection, while the first Epistle of Peter, and the first of John, which have always been regarded as of apostolic authority, come afterward. This very order of the seven Epistles, however, suggests to us, by the way, a probable supposition as to the place *where* the collection of these Catholic Epistles must have originated. James, the author of the Epistle of James in the canon, nowhere possessed a higher reputation than in Palestine and Syria; for he was a brother, i.e. according to the Hebrew mode of speaking, a cousin of our Lord, and at the same time bishop of the church at Jerusalem, and head of the Jewish Christians, as we shall presently show more at length. In the same countries, Peter was held in high estimation, as the one among our

Lord's apostles to whom, in particular, was committed the preaching of the Gospel among the Jews. It is probable, therefore, that the collection of the Catholic Epistles originated in Palestine or Syria, and, out of veneration for the brother of our Lord, and the first bishop of Jerusalem, the author of the collection gave to the Epistle of James the first place, and put those of Peter next. The Epistles of John had less interest for him, on account of his Judaising sentiments, and the Epistle of Jude he placed at the very end. The supposition we have made finds confirmation in the fact, that a father of the Palestinian church, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, gives us the first certain account of the existence of a collection of the seven Catholic Epistles.

From the various character of the writings classed together in the collection, we may see clearly its late origin; for it has already been mentioned above (chap. i.), that the first Epistles of John and that of Peter were originally, as being very ancient and universally-admitted writings, connected with *the apostle*, so called, i.e. the collection of the Pauline Epistles. At a later period, in order to leave these latter by themselves, the two Epistles were taken from the collection of Pauline writings and classed with the five other apostolic Epistles. These last, however, belonged to the number of those which were universally admitted in primitive times, and thus Antilegomena and Homologoumena were introduced into one and the same collection. Still there arose from this procedure one advantage, viz. that the Epistles of the same author were, as was proper, brought together. Luther, with his excellent tact, correctly felt that the collection of the Catholic Epistles unsuitably confounded writings which were universally admitted with those which were not, and therefore placed the Epistles of Peter and John immediately after those of Paul, and then at the end, after the Epistle to the Hebrews, the letters of James and Jude, and the Revelation of John. Still, this did not wholly do away with the impropriety, as the second Epistle of Peter also had been disputed with special zeal. Had he, however, placed this Epistle likewise at the end of the New Testament, along with the other Antilegomena, he must have disturbed too much the old accustomed arrangement. He left it, therefore, and also the two smaller Epistles of John, in connection with the first and main Epistle of the two apostles. It is to be considered, too, that the

bearing of the arrangement of the New Testament books upon our critical inquiries is of but secondary consideration; the main point is their internal character, and in reference to this no fault can be found with the original arrangement.

In regard, therefore, to the Catholic Epistles generally, little further can be said. Of the Epistles individually, we will consider first the *three Epistles of John*. As to the first, and main Epistle, it, like the Gospel of John, was always regarded by the ancient church as the production of the Evangelist of that name. In modern times, it is true, doubts have been started in relation to the Gospel. But the principal writer by whom they have been suggested has himself since retracted them. Indeed, it was nothing but the very striking similarity in style and ideas between the Gospel and the first Epistle of John, which made it necessary, almost, whether one would or no, to extend the opposition against the Gospel to the Epistle likewise; for one cannot but suppose them both to have had the same author, from their resemblance in every peculiar characteristic. If, therefore, the Epistle were admitted to have been written by the Evangelist John, the Gospel also could not but be attributed to him. But though there may have been a somewhat plausible reason for disputing the Gospel, in the idea that the Saviour is represented by John very differently from the exhibition of him in the other Gospels, in regard to the Epistle, there is no reason which possesses the slightest plausibility for disputing it. On the supposition that it is spurious, the error of the whole ancient church in referring it, without contradiction, to the Evangelist John, would be completely inexplicable, especially if we carefully compare the history of the Epistle with that of the Evangelist. John, as we have before remarked, lived the longest of all the apostles, viz. till some time in the reign of Domitian, and he resided at Ephesus, in Asia Minor. From no country within the limits of the church, therefore, could we expect to receive more accurate accounts in regard to the writings of the beloved disciple of our Lord, than from those of Asia Minor. Now, it is from these very countries that we receive the most ancient testimonies in behalf of the existence and genuineness of the Epistle. Instead of mentioning all, I will name but two of these testimonies, which, however, are so decisive, that we can perfectly well dispense with all the rest. The first is presented by Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, whom we

have already mentioned. This man lived, as has been before said, at the end of the first century and beginning of the second, in the immediate vicinity of Ephesus, where the Evangelist John laboured so long and so successfully. He knew not only the Evangelist John, but other immediate disciples of our Lord, who were probably of the number of the seventy, particularly a certain Aristion, and another John, surnamed the Presbyter. Now, is to be supposed that such a man, who had at his command so many means of arriving at certainty respecting John's writings, could possibly be deceived in regard to them? We must, indeed, renounce all historical testimony, if we deny this witness the capacity to speak in behalf of the genuineness of this Epistle of John.

The second testimony, however, is of equal importance. One of the apostolic fathers, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, in Asia Minor, makes use of the first Epistle of John, in the same way as Papias, as though it was admitted to be a genuine production of the Evangelist. Now Polycarp lived till after the middle of the second century, and at the age of eighty-six died a martyr's death in the flames. He had not merely become acquainted with John in the neighbouring city of Ephesus, but had even heard him preach the way of salvation, and was his faithful disciple. The testimony of such a man, therefore, is likewise above all cavil, and is especially confirmed by the fact, that there never has been, in later times, any general opinion against its genuineness, either in the catholic church, or among the adherents to any particular sect. Against this weight of historical evidence, therefore, nothing can be effected by the mere conjectures of modern times; and at present all theologians are perfectly agreed in the acknowledgment of this precious relic of the beloved disciple of Jesus, his first Epistle.

If, in regard to the *second and third Epistles* of John, such perfect agreement of the ancient church in recognizing their genuineness cannot be asserted, the reason of this lies entirely in a circumstance, which also occasioned the tardy insertion of the pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus in the collection of Pauline Epistles, viz. that they are directed to private persons, and moreover are of no very great extent or very important contents, and thus awakened less interest in their diffusion.

The *second Epistle* of John is addressed to a Christian lady and her family; the *third* to a Christian friend named Gaius.

Of the private circumstances of these two persons we know nothing but what is indicated in the letters. Now, although certainly these two smaller Epistles afford no important information respecting the Gospel, or the history of the ancient church, still, as estimable legacies of the disciple who lay in Jesus's bosom, they deserve a place in the canon as much as Paul's Epistle to Philemon. The oldest fathers of the church express no doubt in regard to the two Epistles. Only at a later period do we find certain individuals entertaining doubts whether these two Epistles were written by John the Evangelist. No one regarded them as forged in the name of the Evangelist, for we can by no means perceive for what purpose these Epistles could, in such a case, have been written. They aim at no particular object, but are merely expressive of the tenderest Christian love. Many, however, believed that another John, viz. *John the Presbyter*, before mentioned, with whom Papias was acquainted, was the author of the Epistles. This view appeared confirmed by the fact that, in the salutations of both Epistles, John expressly terms himself *Presbyter*; and as, moreover, the other John likewise lived in Ephesus, it is possible they might have been confounded. But in modern times these doubts in regard to the apostolic character of the two small Epistles have been disregarded, because the style and the sentiments of both Epistles are so entirely similar to the style and course of thought in the Gospels and the first Epistle, that the idea of a different author is totally untenable. Moreover, we are able to show how John the apostle and Evangelist might also call himself *Presbyter*. This expression is nearly equivalent to the Latin *Senior*, or the German *Älteste*.¹ In the Jewish synagogues, and also among the primitive Christians, it was applied to the principal persons in the church (comp. Acts xx. 17), and was at first used in this sense as exactly synonymous with *Episcopos*, i.e. bishop. In Asia Minor, as we know from the writings of Papias, there prevailed a peculiar custom of speaking, by which the apostles were called, as it were by way of distinction, *elders*. Whether the intention was thereby to denote the great age of the apostles, or whether all the churches were regarded as forming one general church, and the apostles as their presbyters, is doubtful. It is sufficient that the apostles were thus termed,² by way of emi-

¹ Or the English *elder*, as it is translated in our version.—Tr.

² Peter calls himself in his first Epistle, a *fellow-elder* (1 Pet. v. 1).

nence, for in this fact is exhibited a sufficient explanation of the inscriptions to the second and third Epistles of John. Thus the case is the same with these two Epistles as with that to the Hebrews. The primitive church adopted them, but not without opposition, and therefore we must reckon them among the *Antilegomena*; but still the reasons which were addressed against their apostolic origin may be so thoroughly refuted that not a shadow of uncertainty can reasonably remain in regard to them.

The fourth of the seven Catholic Epistles is the first *Epistle of the Apostle Peter*. As we have now come to the consideration of the Petrine writings in the canon, the question forces itself upon us, how it is to be explained that we have so few productions of Peter, and so many of Paul, who was called latest to be an apostle. When we consider what our Lord said to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," (Matth. xvi. 18), and afterwards: "Feed my lambs," (John xxi. 15 seq.), it must seem strange that the powers of this rock of the church should have been exerted so little in writings for posterity. It is true the Gospel of Mark is properly Peter's Gospel, as we have seen; but even this falls into the back-ground by the side of Luke (the Pauline Gospel), and the other Gospels, so that Peter, according to the representation of himself in his writings, constantly appears insignificant compared with Paul.

This fact finds a satisfactory explanation only in the relation of the two apostles, Peter and Paul, to the propagation of the Gospel in general. In reference to this, they had different destinations. Peter, with the twelve, was called particularly to the dissemination of the Gospel among the Jews. Had the Jewish nation acknowledged Jesus to be the Messiah, Peter would then have exhibited himself in all his dignity and consequence. But that unhappy nation hardened itself against all the operations of the Spirit, and the Gospel was carried to the Gentiles, because Israel rejected the grace to which it was called. Paul was set apart for the express purpose of preaching to the Gentiles, (Acts xxvi. 17,) and, as Christianity first displayed itself in a flourishing condition among them, all the other apostles, with the exception of John alone, fell into the back-ground in comparison with Paul, both in oral discourse, as appears from the Acts, and in these written efforts, as is shown by the New Testament canon. It is, consequently, not at all strange that

Peter should be represented by two Epistles of so small a size, and that the second of these is, moreover, the most disputed book in the whole New Testament canon. His being thrown into the shade by Paul is rather in accordance with the facts respecting the extension of the church of Christ on earth in the times of the apostles.

As to the *first Epistle of Peter*, we have before seen that it belongs among the Homologoumena, along with the first Epistle of John. In all Christian antiquity there was no one who doubted the genuineness of the Epistle, or had heard of doubts respecting it. And yet the Epistle (1 Pet. i. 1,) is addressed to Christian churches in Asia Minor, where Christianity early gained great success, and where a lively intercourse was maintained between the individual churches. Here, of necessity, must have arisen soon an opposition to this Epistle, if it had not been known that Peter had sent a circular letter to the churches. Now, the oldest fathers of the church in Asia Minor, Papias and Polycarp, both make use of the Epistle of Peter, as well as that of John, as a genuine apostolic production. This Epistle of Peter does not seem to have made its way to Italy till a late period. At least it is wanting in the very ancient catalogue cited by Muratori, which probably exhibits the canon of the early Roman church. We can infer nothing, however, from this absence against the genuineness of the first Epistle of Peter, since there is not the slightest trace of its having been disputed in the first three centuries. Yet, in modern times, this decided declaration of Christian antiquity has been thought insufficient. An objection has been founded on the circumstance that Peter writes from Babylon, (1 Pet. v. 13,) while history does not relate that he ever was in Babylon; as also upon the fact that he directs the attention of his readers to sufferings and persecutions which they should endure, (1 Pet. i. 6; iii. 16; iv. 12 seq.; v. 10,) referring, as is supposed, to Nero's persecutions, while he himself, it is said, died at Rome during this persecution, and therefore could not have addressed an Epistle from Babylon to those who suffered under it. Both these remarks, however, are easily obviated. As to the first, respecting the city of Babylon, we know too little of the history of Peter to be able to determine in what places he may have been, and in what not; particularly as there were several cities of this name in the ancient world, and it is not specified which is meant in the Epistle. It is to be ob-

served, too, that many of the fathers of the church understood the name Babylon to mean mystically the city of Rome, which showed itself the enemy of our Lord in the persecution of the faithful. (Comp. Rev. xviii. 2.) If this exposition be adopted, the second remark also is at once obviated; for, in that case, the Epistle was written by Peter in Rome itself during the persecution, and he gave the believers in Asia Minor christian exhortations in reference to such a grievous period among them. Yet, as this explanation cannot be *proved* to be correct, we set it aside, and merely observe, that in whatever Babylon Peter may have written his Epistle, his residence there can be easily reconciled with the exhortations which the Epistle contains. For, though these *may* be referred to the persecution of Nero, they may be understood with equal propriety as referring to any other persecution, since all individual characteristics, which could suit *only* this first cruel persecution of the church, are entirely wanting. Such general sufferings as these which Peter mentions must be supposed to have been endured by the church everywhere and at all times, as it is always comprehended in the very idea of a believer that he should excite opposition in those who are of a worldly inclination, and thus cause a combat. A more important objection than these two remarks is, that the style and ideas of the first Epistle of Peter exhibit a strong resemblance to the style and ideas of Paul. This cannot be denied, for it is too evident not to be observed; but it does not serve its intended purpose, viz. to deprive Peter of the authorship of the Epistle. Notwithstanding all its similarity to Paul's manner, it still maintains enough of independence and peculiarity to stamp it as the production of a man who thought for himself. As moreover, when Peter wrote this Epistle, he was connected (1 Pet. v. 12,) with the old friend and companion of Paul, Sylvanus, (or, as abbreviated, Silas,) nothing is more easy than to suppose that Peter dictated to the latter, and in all probability in the Hebrew language, which alone seems to have been perfectly familiar to him. In translating into Greek, Sylvanus, who, from long intimacy with Paul, had become very much habituated to his diction, may have adopted many of its characteristics, and thus have been the occasion of the somewhat Pauline colouring which the Epistle possesses.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

IN regard to the second Epistle of Peter, its case is very different from that of the first. The former has always been so violently attacked, and suspected on such plausible grounds of not having been written by the apostle Peter, that criticism is encompassed with as much difficulty in relation to it as in relation to any other book of the New Testament. And, moreover, such is the state of the matter, that the critical investigation of this Epistle is of particular importance. For, as we remarked in Chapter I., while, in regard to many writings of the New Testament, e.g. the Epistle to the Hebrews, the second and third Epistles of John,) the question is, not so much whether they are genuine or spurious, as who was their author, in regard to the second Epistle of Peter, the question is, in truth, whether the apostle Peter composed it, or some other Peter, or somebody of another name, who meant no harm, but still *purposely endeavoured to deceive* his readers into the belief that it was written by Simon Peter, the apostle of our Lord. In the first place, the author of the Epistle not only expressly appropriates Peter's name and title, "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ," (2 Pet. i. 1,) but he also states particulars respecting his own life, which can have been true only of Peter. He says, for instance, "For we have not followed cunningly-devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. *And this voice, which came from heaven, we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount,*" (2 Pet. i. 16—18. These words, it is clear, refer to the transfiguration on the mount, (Matt. xvii. 1, seq.) But, besides James and John, the two sons of Zebedee, no one was a spectator of this transfiguration except the Apostle Peter. If, therefore, the Apostle Peter was not the author of this letter, the man who not only presumed to take upon himself the name of an apostle, but designedly endeavoured to make his readers think

that he was the apostle Peter, must have been a downright shameless impostor; and his production should by no means retain its place in the canon, but it is necessary that it should be at once thrust out of it.

It is for this very reason, viz. because the necessity of which we have spoken has been sensibly felt, that the friends of the work have so zealously prosecuted the investigation respecting it; though certainly not always with due impartiality and coolness. It has been forgotten that in truth very important objections may be urged against the Petrine origin of this second Epistle, and it has been attempted to establish its genuineness as firmly and incontrovertibly as it is possible to establish that of other writings. The best weapon, however, which can be used in defence of God's word, is always truth; and this compels us to admit that it is impossible to attain so firm and certain proof of the genuineness of the second Epistle of Peter, as of that of other books of the New Testament. But certainly the opponents of the Epistle err greatly when they assert that the spuriousness of the Epistle can be fully established. Such an assertion cannot but be denied with all earnestness, even though, as is often the case, it be connected with the opinion, that the Epistle may notwithstanding retain its place in the canon as hitherto, and be cited by preachers of the Gospel in their pulpit instructions. Such lax notions must be resisted with the utmost moral sternness. For, would it not be participating in the fraud of the author of the Epistle, were we to treat it as the genuine production of the Apostle Peter, while we consider it as spurious! If it be really spurious, and can be proved to have gained its place in the canon only through mistake, then let it be removed from the collection of the sacred writings, which from its nature excludes every fraudulent production. Christian truth would not at all suffer by the removal of a single work of so slight extent.

We are convinced, however, that no such step is necessary. The most prominent error in the critical investigation of this Epistle has been, that writers have always striven to prove beyond objection either the genuineness or the spuriousness of the production. It has been forgotten that between these two positions there was a medium, viz., an impossibility of satisfactorily *proving* either. It cannot seem at all strange that this impossibility should exist in investigations respecting writings of the New Testament, if it be considered for a moment how difficult it often is to determine

respecting the genuineness of a production even shortly after, or at the very time of, its composition, if from any circumstance the decisive points in the investigation have remained concealed. As in regard to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews it is entirely impossible to come to any decided result, so it seems to me probable, that the deficiency of historical evidence makes it impossible to come to a fixed conclusion in regard to the second Epistle of Peter. It is certain there are several circumstances which give rise to reasonable doubts respecting the apostolic origin of the Epistle; still, so much may be adduced, not only in refutation of them, but in the way of positive argument for the Epistle, that these doubts are neutralized. Only, the favourable points do not amount to a complete, objectively valid proof, and therefore a critical investigation of the Epistle does not result exclusively to its advantage. Now this is certainly a very unpleasant result, and one satisfactory to neither party, for men commonly wish every thing to be decided in an absolute manner, and therefore would have the Epistle declared positively either genuine or spurious. But the main object should be the truth, and not an agreeable result; and faithful, impartial examination leads us to the conclusion that in fact no perfect proof is to be obtained in regard to the second Epistle of Peter. This conclusion affords us the advantage, that we may with a good conscience leave the Epistle in its place among the canonical books, since it cannot rightfully be deprived of it until its spuriousness is *decisively proved*. Now, whether it shall or shall not be used in doctrinal argument, must be left to the judgment of each individual; but at any rate no one can prohibit its use so long as its spuriousness remains unproved.

It is time, however, to consider more closely all that can be urged against the genuineness of the Epistle, and to present therewith the counter considerations which either invalidate the former or argue the apostolic composition of the Epistle. Now the most important circumstance which presents itself against the genuineness of the book is, that it was to such a degree unknown in christian antiquity. Not one of the fathers of the first two centuries mentions the second Epistle of Peter; they all speak of but one Epistle from the hand of this apostle. Nor are there any passages in their writings which must of necessity be citations from it. Those passages which seem like parts of it may be explained either on the score of accidental coincidence

or of mutual reference to the Old Testament. It was not till after Origen's time, in the third century, that the Epistle came into use, and even then doubts were always current in regard to its apostolic origin, and the learned father Jerome expressly remarks that *most* denied it such an origin. It is true, this statement cannot refer to all members of the church, but only to such as were capable of critical investigations; for the same father of the church says further, that the reason why most denied it to be Peter's was, the difference in style which was observable on comparison with the first; and clearly, uneducated persons were incapable of judging as to such difference in style. But still, it is extremely remarkable that even in the time of Jerome, i.e. in the fifth century, there should be found in the church so many opponents of the Epistle.

It is, however, to be considered, in estimating the importance of this fact in relation to the genuineness of the Epistle, that no definite historical arguments are adduced against the Epistle from any quarter. Recourse is had, not to the testimony of individuals, nor to the declaration of entire churches, which denied the Epistle to be Peter's, but merely to internal reasons, deduced by the aid of criticism. This is the more strange, as it would appear that this second Epistle of Peter was addressed to the very same readers for whom the first was designed (Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 1), i.e. to the Christians in several churches of Asia Minor. From these, one would think, there must have proceeded a testimony which could not be misunderstood against the Epistle, if Peter had not written to them a second time. Nor do the fathers say, that the Epistle contains heresies or any thing else totally unworthy of the apostle; indeed they do not make the slightest objection of this kind to the character of its contents. If, on the other hand, we look at their objections to other evidently fictitious writings, we find them asserting that they had an impious, detestable character, or that historical evidence was against their pretended apostolic origin. From the manner in which history represents the testimony of the fathers of the church, we may suppose that their opinion respecting the genuineness of the Epistle was founded in a great measure upon the fact that its diffusion was very much delayed. Since so many writings had been forged in Peter's name, the fathers of the church probably at once regarded an Epistle which came so late into circulation with some considerable suspicion, and then

made use of the difference in language, or something of the kind, to confirm this suspicion. We must therefore say, that no decisive argument against the genuineness of the Epistle is to be drawn from historical considerations. Although it was but little known in the ancient church, this want of acquaintance with it may have been founded on reasons not at all connected with its spuriousness or genuineness. How many Epistles of Peter and other apostles may never have been much known? And still the circumstance that they have not been diffused abroad does not disprove their apostolic origin.

Thus, as the fathers of the church themselves had recourse to the internal character of the Epistle, it remains for us likewise to examine this, and as particular historical traditions respecting the Epistle were as inaccessible to these fathers as to us, and the art of criticism has not been carried to a high point of cultivation till recently, we may lay claim to greater probability, as to the result of our investigation, than they could.

Among the striking circumstances to which we are led by a careful investigation concerning the second Epistle of Peter, the first which presents itself, is the very ancient observation, that the *style* of this Epistle is quite different from that of the first. According to the most recent examinations, the case is really so. The style of the second Epistle is so different from that of the first, as to make it hardly conceivable that the same author should have written thus variously; particularly as the two Epistles must have been written at no great distance of time from each other, it being necessary to refer them both to the latter part of the apostle's life. But we have seen above, that Peter probably employed another person to write for him when he composed his first Epistle; now, how natural to suppose, as Jerome has already suggested, that in writing the second Epistle Peter only made use of a different assistant from the one employed in writing the first, which supposition satisfactorily explains the difference in style. If it be insisted, however, that this supposition is a very violent one, we may then admit that the Epistles are in reality not apostolic, but are from Sylvanus, or some other writer. It is certainly true, that by this hypothesis we surrender the common opinion, that Peter either guided the pen himself, or at least dictated to the amanuensis word for word what he should write. But is it at all essential to admit that the writings of the apostles originated precisely in

this way? Is a prince's letter of less value, because his secretary wrote it, and the prince himself only signed it? Do we esteem the writings of Mark and Luke any less because they were not apostles? These last writings show best how the case is to be considered. Say that these two Epistles were written by Sylvanus or Mark; is their importance to us in the least diminished, when Peter has given them the confirmation of his apostolic authority, as presenting his ideas, his mode of thinking?

This hypothesis of Peter's having employed a writer in the composition of the second Epistle, explains, moreover, another remark which it has been usual to urge against its apostolic origin. If the Epistle of Jude be compared with the second chapter of this Epistle, there will appear a very striking similarity between them. This, as in the case of the Gospels, is so great that it is impossible it should have arisen accidentally. An impartial comparison of the two makes it extremely probable that Jude is the original, and was employed in the Epistle of Peter. Now this hardly seems suitable for the Apostle Peter, considering him as the author of the Epistle. He, the pillar of the church, should have been the original writer, though it would not have been strange that Jude, who held a far lower rank, should make use of his production. On the supposition, however, that Peter employed an individual to write for him, the latter might have made use of Jude's Epistle, and what would be totally unsuitable for an apostle, would not be at all strange in his assistant. If it be said that, as Peter must have known the use which was made of Jude, the circumstance still remains very strange, we may suppose that both, Peter (with his assistant) and Jude, conferred together in regard to combating the heretics, and agreed together in certain fundamental thoughts, and that thus coincidence in details was occasioned by their common written ground-work. Still, it may not be concealed, that, after all attempts to explain these appearances, there nevertheless remains in the mind something like suspicion; and for this reason, although there are certainly not sufficient grounds for rejecting the Epistle, we cannot regard its genuineness as susceptible of proof.

There are other points of less moment, which are usually brought forward by the opponents of the Epistle. Among these is the passage 2 Peter iii. 2, in which the writer, it is said, is

distinguished from the apostles, just as in Heb. ii. 2. But, in the first place, the reading in the former passage is not perfectly certain, since several ancient versions give it the same sense as Luther, who translates: "that ye may be mindful of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, and of the commandment of *us, the apostles of our Lord and Saviour*."¹ But, even though we admit that to be the correct reading, is one by which the author is distinguished from the apostles, we may explain the passage by supposing that the writer who was employed, instead of speaking in the name of the Apostle, spoke in his own person. This was certainly an oversight, but not a very great one; like that, e. g., which occasioned the Evangelists to differ from each other in respect to the number of the blind men whom our Lord healed, and other points of the kind. The admission of such trifling oversight belongs properly to God's plan in regard to the Scriptures, since literal coincidence would, on the one hand, give rise to strong suspicion in regard to the veracity of the writers (as it would suggest the inference that there had been previous concert between them), and, on the other hand, there would be danger of confounding the letter with the spirit, to the disadvantage of the latter.

Of as little consequence is the reference made to 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16, where Peter says of his beloved brother Paul, whose wisdom he extols: "as also in all his Epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction." These words, it is said, clearly suppose a collection of Pauline Epistles to have been current in the church; but one cannot have been made earlier than the commencement of the second century, and consequently the Epistle must be regarded as a work of later origin. But this assumption, that the collection of the Pauline Epistles was first made at so late a period, is by no means susceptible of proof. Indeed, in the fourth Chapter we attempted to prove it not improbable that even Paul himself made a collection of his Epistles. At all events, no historical fact can be adduced against this hypothesis, and we must therefore con-

¹ So, too, in the English version. The question alluded to in the text is, whether we should translate, *of us the apostles*, or, *of the apostles sent to us* (or to you, according to another reading)? See the original Greek.—Tr.

sider thus much as certain, that the mention of a collection of Pauline Epistles ought not to induce us to conclude against the apostolic origin of the Epistle whose history we are investigating.

Thus is confirmed the position which we laid down above, that not one of the reasons usually adduced against the genuineness of the second Epistle of Peter is a decisive one. Notwithstanding, as has been already mentioned, impartiality enjoins it upon us to allow that, after considering these reasons, there remains a feeling in the mind which does not permit us to place this Epistle in the rank of those universally admitted. We find ourselves constrained to resort first to one expedient, then to another, in order to invalidate the arguments which make against the genuineness of the Epistle. Let us, however, cast a glance at the other side, and consider the arguments which may be adduced *in favour* of the authenticity of the Epistle. The impression made by the genuine apostolic manner, in the first and third chapters in particular, is so heart-stirring, the severe moral tone which prevails throughout them is so forcible, that very estimable scholars have found themselves induced to regard these two chapters, or at least the first, as truly Petrine, and the second or the last two as, perhaps, merely subsequent additions to the genuine Epistle. This hypothesis has indeed, at first view, this recommendation, that we can give proper weight to the reasons for doubt, without being obliged to regard the express statements respecting Peter personally as having been forged. But the close connection of all the chapters with each other, and the uniformity of the language and ideas throughout the Epistle is too much at variance with the supposition of an interpolation of the Epistle, to make it right that it should be admitted.

Still, we cannot but allow the great weight of the reason from which the hypothesis took its rise, viz., that it was an almost inconceivable piece of impudence for an impostor to assume the person of the Apostle Peter, so as even to speak of his presence at the transfiguration on Mount Tabor, and venture to invent prophecies of our Lord to him respecting his end. (Comp. 2 Pet. i. 14.) It is true, appeal is made, on this point, to the practice of the ancients, according to which it was not so strange and censurable, it is said, to write under another's name, as it appears to us at the present day. And it is undoubtedly true, that in the primitive times of the church writings were much more fre-

quently forged in the name of others than at the present time. But it is a question whether this is to be referred to the custom of the times, or does not rather arise from the fact, that in the less methodical book-transactions of the ancient world it was much easier to get fictitious writings into circulation than it is at present, on account of the great publicity which now attends such transactions. At any rate, we must say, that it was a very culpable practice, if it ever was common, to procure currency for one's literary productions by affixing a great name to them; and every honourable man would have avoided it and written only in his own name. Suppose, however, it was less offensive than now to publish any thing under an assumed name, we must notwithstanding protest in the most earnest manner against the idea, that a man could permit himself fraudulently to appropriate such points from the life of him whose name he used as could be true only of the latter; which must be the case in regard to this Epistle, if it was not written by Peter. Were this to be done in any case, the use of another's name would no longer be a mere form in writing, it would rather be a coarse piece of imposture, such as could not occur without a decidedly wrong intention; and this leads us to a new and important point in the investigation of the origin of the second Epistle of Peter.

The alternative in which we are thus placed is as harsh as it could possibly be. Either the Epistle is genuine and apostolical, or it is not only spurious and forged, but was forged by a bold, shameless impostor, and such a person must have had an evil design in executing a forgery of the kind supposed. Now in the whole Epistle we do not find the slightest thing which can be regarded as erroneous or as morally bad. Its contents are entirely biblical, and truly evangelical. An elevated religious spirit animates the Epistle throughout. Is it conceivable, that a man actuated by this spirit can be chargeable with such a deception? Or is it supposed that this spirit is itself feigned? But this idea plainly contradicts itself, for he who is bad enough to forge writings cannot entertain the design of extending a good influence by his forgery. No forgery would be necessary for such a purpose. The design must have been to defend what was unholy in principle or practice under cover of a sacred name. The only probable purpose of the forgery of the Epistle is this; that the unknown author of the production wished to combat the heretics described in the second chapter, and in order that he

might do this with some effect, he wrote in the name of the Apostle Peter, and made use of the Epistle of Jude in doing so. But if a man who was honest (in other respects) could have been induced to enter upon such a crooked path, would he not have contented himself with placing the Apostle's name in front of his Epistle? Would his conscience have permitted him to appropriate falsely from the life of the Apostle such particulars as are narrated in the Epistle? This is really hard to believe, and the efforts made to preserve the genuineness of the first chapter at least, which contains these very particulars, sufficiently prove how universal is the feeling that the statements it contains cannot have been forged.

It is true the case would stand otherwise, if it were a well-founded position, that the Epistle really contains erroneous tenets. But how truly impossible it is to establish this, is very evident from the nature of the points adduced as errors. In the first place, one is supposed to be contained in the passage, 2 Peter iii. 5, in which it is said, that the earth was formed out of water and in water by the word of God.¹ It is true, there are parallels to this view of the creation of the earth in several mythical cosmogonies; but is this circumstance a proof that the doctrine of the creation of the world out of water is false? Does the Mosaic account of the creation, or any other passage in the Bible, contain any thing which in the slightest degree impugns it? Or does the condition of the physical or geological sciences in our day prove that the earth certainly came into existence in a different manner? It will suffice, in regard to this point, to remind our readers that the formation of the earth out of water was taught by the celebrated De Luc, not to mention many men of less note. At the most, then, it can only be said that in the passage referred to, there is something openly and definitely stated which is not found thus stated in any other book of the Bible; though it is impossible to deny that the Mosaic account of the creation ("The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters") is susceptible of such an interpretation, as to convey the idea which is more plainly declared in 2 Pet. iii. 5. Thus there is no ground for talking about an error in this passage of the Epistle. The same remarks may be made respecting another position, that the

¹ Our English version gives a somewhat different sense to this passage; but probably the translation above conveys nearly, if not exactly, its true signification.—Tr.

doctrine (also presented in the third chapter of the second Epistle of Peter) concerning the destruction of the world by fire is erroneous. For it can by no means be shown in regard to this second idea, that it contradicts the common statement of the Bible, or contains anything incorrect. Indeed, there are other passages likewise, that contain an intimation, at least, of the same thing which is here openly stated. (Comp. Isaiah li. 6; Zeph. iii. 8.) And so far are the similar mythical accounts in other religions from arguing anything wrong in this idea, that we should rather consider the coincidence of the mythical accounts with the biblical doctrine as a confirmation of the real verity of the former.

If, therefore, we put together all which has been said of the second Epistle of Peter, thus much is certainly clear, that the circumstances which are calculated to excite suspicion respecting the Epistle, are by no means sufficient to constitute a formal proof of their spuriousness. True, the suspicious points cannot be so perfectly obviated, that every doubt will disappear. Some uncertainty will remain in the mind. Still the positive arguments in behalf of its genuineness so far allay these doubts that it is possible to obtain a satisfactory *subjective* conviction of the genuineness of the Epistle. But a proof of its genuineness which shall be of perfect validity and be generally acknowledged can no more be attained than such a proof of its spuriousness; and, therefore, there will always be something dubious in the position of this Epistle. The ancient fathers of the church endeavoured to express this uncertainty by the term *Antilegomena*, and later teachers in the evangelical church by the designation *Deutero-canonical writings*, among which this Epistle is reckoned. Attempts to remove all the obscurity which envelopes the facts in regard to this Epistle will probably always prove vain, from the want of historical accounts respecting the use and diffusion of it in primitive times.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE EPISTLES OF JAMES AND JUDE.

IN investigating the Epistles of James and Jude, the question is, as in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews, not so much whether they are genuine or spurious, as who was their author. This may seem strange, inasmuch as the authors of both of them mention themselves in the salutations, which is not the case as to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Indeed, Jude, for the purpose of designating himself still more definitely, adds the circumstance that he was the brother of James. But, as both these names were very common among the Jews, and the relations between the persons of this name mentioned in the New Testament are quite involved, it is a very difficult inquiry, what James and what Jude were the authors of the Epistles which we are considering. Now, if it should be probable, on investigation, that the authors of the two Epistles were not apostles, (i. e. among the number of the twelve disciples), then will arise a second inquiry, what we are to think of the canonical authority of the Epistles?

The first question is, how many persons of the name of *James* and *Jude* are mentioned in the Scriptures or by ancient Christian writers? From the catalogues of the twelve apostles (Matt. x. 2 seq.; Mark iii. 13 seq.; Luke vi. 12 seq. Acts i. 13 seq.) we perceive that two individuals among them were named James. The first was a brother of the evangelist John, a son of Zebedee and Salome; this James is often mentioned in the evangelical history. His brother Peter, and himself, were of all the apostles the most intimate with our Lord. He was present at the transfiguration and at our Lord's agony in the garden of Gethsemane. According to Acts xii. 2, Herod killed him with the sword a few years after our Lord's ascension. As, therefore, this James disappeared from the scene of events very early, he does not cause much difficulty in the investigation. The second James is termed the son of Alphæus, and of this apostle we have so uncertain accounts, that it is difficult to determine much respecting him.

As there were two individuals of the name of James among the twelve, so there were two Judes. One, the betrayer of our

Lord, of course is not concerned in this investigation. He cannot be confounded with any one else; especially as he had the surname Iscariot from his birth-place Carioth. The second Jude, it would seem, bore many names; for while Luke (in the Gospel as well as in the Acts) calls him Jude the son of James, Matthew, and Mark call him sometimes Thaddeus, and sometimes Lebbeus. It was not at all uncommon among the Jews for one man to bear several names; and, therefore, we may admit the validity of the prevalent opinion that Lebbeus or Thaddeus, and Jude, the son of James, are the same individuals. In John xiv. 22, a second Jude among the twelve is expressly distinguished from Jude (Judas) the traitor, who is termed Iscariot; and hence the name Jude may have been the one by which the former was most commonly designated.

Now did we know with perfect certainty that the authors of the Epistles under consideration were of the number of the twelve, it would be easy to fix upon the individuals; James, the son of Alphaeus, must have written the Epistle of James and Jude, the son of James, that of Jude. But as Jude (v. 1) calls himself the brother of James, he must either mean another man of this name known to his readers, or we must suppose the term *brother* to signify step-brother or cousin, as indeed the word is often used in Hebrew. For the opinion of some, that in the catalogues of the apostles (see Luke's Gospel and his Acts of the Apostles), Jude is not called the son but the brother of James, must be totally rejected, because, though it is true that sometimes the word *brother* is to be supplied for the genitive following a proper name, this is only the case when it is clear from the connection what is to be supplied. In the apostolic catalogue, however, *son* is every where else to be supplied for the genitive; and hence it is incredible that in the case of Jude alone *brother* must be added.

But that the authors of these two Epistles of James and Jude were among the number of the twelve is very uncertain (indeed, as we shall show hereafter, improbable), and on that account we have still to determine the difficult question, what persons of these names wrote the Epistles? The following reasons show the uncertainty of the idea that the authors of the Epistles were apostles. In the first place, the fathers of the church speak of another James, the brother of our Lord, and first bishop of Jerusalem, and another Jude, likewise the brother of our Lord,

as the authors of the Epistles; and, moreover, these were disputed by many, and reckoned among the Antilegomena, clearly for this reason alone, that it was supposed perfectly correct to regard them as not apostolical. Thus, in the opinion of the fathers, there were beside the two James's and Judes among the twelve, two other persons of these names, called *brothers of our Lord*. These are mentioned in the passage, Matt. xiii. 55, with two other brothers of our Lord, Simon and Joses, and with sisters of his whose names are not given. They are also mentioned in the later history of the apostolic age (Acts xv. 13 seq.; Gal. i. 19; ii. 9), particularly James, who is designated with Peter and John as a pillar of the church. According to the fathers of the church, he was the first bishop of Jerusalem, and the description which the New Testament gives of his position and operations perfectly accords with this statement. According to the account of the Jewish writer, *Josephus*, and a very ancient Christian historian, named *Hegesippus*, this James, the brother of our Lord, died a martyr's death at Jerusalem shortly before its destruction. He possessed such authority and such reputation for piety among the Jews, that, according to *Josephus*, the destruction of the city was a punishment from heaven for the execution of this just man. James was succeeded in the bishopric of Jerusalem by another brother of our Lord, viz. Simon (Matth. xiii. 55), who, as well as the third brother Jude, lived till the reign of the Emperor Trajan, i.e. to the end of the first century after Christ. According to the account of *Hegesippus*, Simon also died a martyr's death, like his brother; of the manner of Jude's end nothing definite is known. Although, however, we find these brethren of our Lord labouring with ardent Christian zeal after the resurrection of the Saviour, still, in the lifetime of our Lord they did not believe on him. This we are told by John expressly (vii. 5), and, therefore, we do not observe these brethren of Jesus among the disciples until *after* his resurrection from the dead. (Acts i. 13.) Probably the vision with which (according to 1 Cor. xv. 7), James was favoured, was the means of convincing them all of the Divine dignity of our Lord, which hitherto, perhaps on the very account of their close relationship to him by blood, they had been unable to credit. It is true the expression, *brothers of our Lord*, is not to be understood as meaning what the words strictly signify; for Mary, the mother of our Lord, appears not to have

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had any other children. The passages Matth. i. 25, Luke ii. 7, in which Jesus is called the *first-born* son of Mary, prove nothing to the contrary, since, if no more children follow, the only son is also the first-born. If the statements of Scripture respecting these brethren of our Lord be put together, it cannot be doubted, that the children of the sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus, are intended by the expression. This sister of Mary was likewise named Mary, and was the wife of a certain Cleophas. She stood with the mother of Jesus beneath the cross of our Lord, as did also Mary Magdalene. (John xix. 25.) This same Mary is called in the parallel passage of Mark (xv. 40) the mother of James the Less and of Joses. Here, then, are named two of the persons who in Matth. xiii. 55, are termed brothers of our Lord. Nothing, therefore, is more natural, as it nowhere appears that Mary had any other children, than to suppose that these so-called brethren of our Lord were his cousins, the sons of his mother's sister. As it is probable that Joseph, the foster-father of Jesus, died at an early period, (for he is not mentioned after the journey to Jerusalem in the twelfth year of Jesus' age,) Mary perhaps went to live with her sister, and thus Jesus grew up with the sons of the latter, which may have been the reason why it was so difficult for them to give credit to his divine authority. It was very common in the Hebrew idiom to term cousins *brothers*. Hence, in Gen. xiii. 8, Abraham and Lot, who were cousins, are termed brothers. If we were to take the word *brother* in its literal sense, and regard the four brothers of our Lord mentioned in Matth. xiii. 55 as own children of Mary, the mother of Jesus, we should have to suppose the extraordinary circumstance that the two mothers of the same name had also children named alike. Now, as we nowhere find mention, first of our Lord's brethren, and then of his cousins, but the same relations are always referred to, this supposition cannot be admitted. The same may be said of another supposition, according to which two of these so-called brethren of our Lord, viz. Jude and James, were of the number of the twelve. For it is said that the Hebrew name which lies at the basis of the Greek one, Cleophas, (abbreviated Klopas), viz. Chalpai, may also in Greek become Alpheus. Thus James the son of Alpheus would be equivalent to James the son of Cleophas. Now, it is true, that on the score of philology nothing can be reasonably objected against this supposition ; but, its validity is overthrown by the

fact that one and the same writer (viz. Luke), presents both forms. Although the name could be differently expressed in Greek, at least the same writer would always have followed the same mode. Moreover, as we have already remarked, it is inadmissible to supply the word *brother*, instead of *son*, after the name Jude. Lastly, it is a decisive circumstance, that in John vii. 5 it is most expressly stated that the brethren of Jesus did not believe on him. It is, therefore, impossible that they should have been of the number of the twelve. Consequently, the New Testament mentions, besides the James, son of Zebedee, who was early executed, two other persons of this name, first the apostle, who was a son of Alphaeus, and next, the brother of our Lord, the first bishop of Jerusalem. Thus, too, the New Testament mentions, besides the apostle Jude, who was the son of a certain James, of whom we know nothing, another Jude who, likewise, was a brother of our Lord, and lived to a late period (till the time of Trajan), in Palestine. That these two brothers of our Lord, and not the apostles, were the authors of our Epistles, has been already intimated and will now be more fully shown.

Of great importance, and indeed almost decisive by itself, is the circumstance, that the fathers of the church refer the Epistle of James to the brother of our Lord of that name; and, too, the fathers who lived in that very region which was the scene of the labours of this celebrated bishop of Jerusalem, viz. the east. Here they might and must have had the most exact accounts respecting this distinguished man, and information as to his writings must have spread itself very readily from Jerusalem to the neighbouring countries of Syria and Egypt. This historical testimony is confirmed very strongly by the great agreement which exists between the contents of the Epistle and the communications which are made by ancient fathers of the church, and particularly Hegesippus, in regard to the peculiar habits of James. According to the account of this writer, James distinguished himself by forms of piety which were very like those inculcated in the Old Testament. He fasted and prayed a great deal, so that, as Hegesippus relates, probably with some exaggeration, his knees had become callous. According to the New Testament, too, (comp. Acts xv. with Gal. i. 2), James, the brother of our Lord, appears to have been the head of the Jewish Christians. He, therefore, undoubtedly observed the Mosaic law, even after he became a Christian, and endeavoured to obtain the sanctity

enjoined in the Old Testament. That, however, this endeavour¹ was not a narrow-minded one, as among the Ebionites, but a liberal one, as among the Nazarenes, is plainly shown by the narrative in the Acts, according to which he did not, along with the obstinate Judaizers, desire to impose the observance of the law upon the Gentiles, but only adhered to it himself, as a pious practice of his fathers. Still his whole disposition leaned somewhat to the side of the law, and this is clearly exhibited in the Epistle.

The same is true of Jude likewise. His very designation of himself as *brother* of James can leave no doubt that he desired to represent himself as the brother of that James who was so celebrated, the first bishop of Jerusalem. He does not call himself an apostle, any more than James. Both term themselves merely servants of Jesus Christ, neglecting from modest humility to make any mention of their relationship by blood to our Lord. We have no statements on the part of the early fathers of the church in regard to the author of the Epistle of Jude. The later fathers, e.g. Jerome, call him an apostle, but they did not for that reason mean a different Jude; only, as might very easily happen, considering the confused accounts we have of these men, they sometimes placed Jude the brother of our Lord among the number of the twelve, contrary to John vii. 5.

Another as important reason for believing that James the brother of our Lord, and not the apostle James, was regarded as the author of the Epistle, is the circumstance that it was reckoned among the *Antilegomena*. Doubts did indeed arise, but not till a pretty late day. Clement of Rome, Hermas, and Irenaeus, make use of the Epistle without scruple. Origen first, then Eusebius, mention doubts. Now, as before the time of Jerome, there is no trace of the Epistle's having been regarded as forged in James' name, the ground of doubt can have been no other than that it was questionable whether an Epistle of any one not an apostle could claim admission into the canon. Jerome observes, that certain individuals believed the Epistle of James to have been forged by some one in his name. This opinion, however, is entirely devoid of probability, because in such case the author would not have neglected to ascribe the dignity of apostle to the James whom he wished to be regarded as the writer of the Epistle, that it might be more sure of admission

¹ The original reads *Schreiben*, which I take to be clearly a mistake for *Streben*, and translate accordingly.—Tr.

into the canon. Those persons, therefore, of whom Jerome speaks, and who undoubtedly resided in the west, probably entertained doctrinal scruples respecting the Epistle. In the west, and particularly in Rome, the centre of the western churches, special regard was felt for Paul and his doctrines. Now, the second chapter of the Epistle of James was supposed to contain erroneous notions in contrariety to Paul, because, as was thought, it inculcated justification by works instead of by faith. This passage even misled Luther into a rejection of the Epistle of James. In his preface to it he says, "This James does nothing but urge his readers to the law and to works, and his manner is so confused that I imagine he was some pious man who had gathered a few sayings from the disciples of the apostles, and put them down upon paper. . . . Hence the Epistle of James is but a *strawy* Epistle; it has by no means an evangelical tone."

In more recent times, however, it has been proved, by very thorough and impartial investigations, that this harsh judgment of Luther is certainly unfounded, together with the apprehensions of the ancient fathers mentioned by Jerome.

James only opposed misconstructions and perversions of Paul's real doctrine, not the great apostle of the Gentiles himself. The two great teachers of the church are essentially one in sentiment; only they had reference to different heresies, and thus their language wears a different aspect. In the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, Paul presents the doctrine of faith, and justification thereby, in opposition to the reliance which the Jews placed on works. James, on the other hand, opposes a dead imaginary faith, which, without any renovating influence over the heart and mind, lulls a man into the sleep of sin, instead of making him active in works of love. If we thus consider the language of the two apostles with reference to the positions which they respectively opposed, we shall perceive the most perfect unity between these two teachers of the church, notwithstanding all their freedom and peculiarity of manner. Though they taught the same doctrines, their point of view was different. Paul had a predominant leaning towards faith, not meaning by any means, however, to deny that it must bear good works as its fruit; James directed his attention more to the fruit, without, however, disparaging the root of faith from which alone they could spring.¹

¹ See more complete discussions of the supposed discrepancy between

Thus, leaving wholly out of view the influence of doctrinal ideas, the discrepancy between the ancient fathers of the church was only whether the Epistle, as proceeding from the brother of our Lord, who was not an apostle, should or should not be admitted into the canon. The East, in general, maintained that it should, because James had exerted so much influence in that region; the Christians of the West were less favourable to it. In reality, then, the question was not in regard to the genuineness of the Epistle, but in regard to the rank of James, whether or not he should be placed on a level with the apostles in respect to the abundance and power of the Spirit poured out upon him, so that a writing of his might be received into the canon as a norm of faith and practice for all future generations of Christians; a question which we will soon consider further.

In regard to this second point, likewise, the case is the same with the Epistle of Jude as with that of James; except that in the accounts concerning this Epistle given by ancient fathers we do not find the slightest evidence that the Epistle was ever regarded as the production of an impostor who forged it in Jude's name. Such a supposition respecting this Epistle is extremely improbable. In such case, would an impostor have contented himself with designating Jude as the "brother of James;" Would he not at least have expressly called him an apostle of our Lord, in order to gain a place for the Epistle in the canon? When we are told, therefore, of opposition to the Epistle, which caused it to be placed among the *Antilegomena*, we must refer it all to a refusal to accord to the author of the Epistle, who was not an apostle, sufficient consideration to procure its admission into the canon. Thus in regard to the Epistle of Jude, likewise, the point in question is, not the genuineness of the Epistle, but only the personal standing of the author, which by some of the fathers of the church was considered equal to that of an apostle, and by others inferior. The investigation of this question, then, what we are to think of the admission of two productions of writers who were not apostles into the canon of the New Testament, remains for the conclusion of this chapter.

Now, whether it be said, that the church has forsaken its principle of admitting no writing into the canon which was not either written by an apostle or composed under his supervision Paul and James on the subject of faith and works, in the *Biblical Repository*, vol. iii. p. 189, and vol. iv. p. 683.—*Tr.*

and authority, in admitting the Epistles of James and Jude; or that they indeed adhered to their principle, but erred in regarding James and Jude, the brethren of our Lord, to whom they correctly ascribed the Epistles, as apostles, and therefore admitting their Epistles into the canon—either way, it would seem as though we of the present day were entitled to charge antiquity with mistake respecting these Epistles. As to the Epistle of Jude the case certainly seems to be as we have here stated it. It was written by one who was not an apostle, by a man of whose acts and character we know nothing further; a fact which appears to sustain the scruples of many of the ancients in regard to its being canonical. Moreover, it contains nothing which is not also found in the second Epistle of Peter, so that the church could dispense with it without suffering the slightest loss. We might therefore be disposed to consider this Epistle as a deutero-canonical production, which was received into the canon only at a late period on the ground that it was more advisable to preserve every writing of the days of the apostles than to reject any thing which might be of apostolic origin. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the use of Jude's Epistle in the second Epistle of Peter must be considered as apostolic confirmation of the former, if the latter be acknowledged genuine. Both productions, therefore, stand or fall together. The impossibility, however, of proving beyond doubt the genuineness of the second Epistle of Peter, will not permit the friends of these Epistles to entertain any thing more than a subjective conviction in regard to the authority of Jude.

The case is different, however, with the Epistle of James. For this remarkable man appears, both according to the New Testament and according to the fathers of the church, to have occupied a very influential position. It is true he was not of the number of the twelve; but the fact that our Lord appeared to him separately, as he did to Peter (1 Cor. xv. 7), indicates his consequence; as does also the circumstance that he was elected bishop of Jerusalem, and especially his relation to the Jewish Christians, of whom James seems to have been the real head. Hence in Gal. ii. 9, this man, with Peter and John, is called a pillar of the church, and Josephus represents the consideration in which he was held among the Jews to have been so great, that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans was looked upon as a judgment for his death. Although, therefore, James was no

apostle, and moreover, no one of the twelve, so far as we know, afforded his confirmation to the Epistle, still the church might well have considered itself entitled to insert the production of so influential a man in the canon. It may be said, indeed, that James was in a precisely parallel situation to that of Paul (who too was not of the number of the twelve, and still enjoyed apostolic dignity); except that in regard to the appearance of our Lord which was vouchsafed to James, and the commissions which were entrusted to him, we have not such particular information as is furnished us by the Acts respecting his appearance to Paul. Yet passing by this, we cannot but declare, that an apostolic confirmation of a particular book, such as we suppose in the case of Mark and Luke, according to the testimony of history, is nothing compared with the testimony which we have from Paul's own mouth respecting James. He is designated, along with Peter and John, as a pillar of the whole church of God upon earth, and thus, though not one of the twelve, still placed entirely on a level with the proper apostles; and hence no objection at all can be made to the reception of the Epistle by the church. She has not, in receiving it, deviated at all from her principles; indeed, she has thereby rather applied them in their real spirit, not rigorously restricting the idea of *apostolical* estimation to the number of the twelve, but referring it to the fulness and power of the spirit exhibited in the life. This, however, as appears from the Epistle itself, and from history, was possessed in its utmost potency by James, as well as Paul, on which account the Epistle of the former richly merits a place among the canonical books.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

THE sublime book which concludes the New Testament, the Revelation of St John, (ὁ ὁραβιζων,) with its wonderful images and visions, has met with a more extraordinary fate than any other writing of the New Testament. The impressive and absorbing nature of the contents of the book has seldom permitted any one to examine it with cool impartiality, and while some have become

the enthusiastic advocates of the book, others have appeared as its most violent opponents, not only rejecting the work as not apostolical, or as forged, but even reviling it as the production of an heretical spirit. Thus it has happened, that, while no production of the New Testament can exhibit more and stronger historical evidence of its genuineness and apostolic authority than the Revelation, none has met with more antagonists; and, indeed, many of its antagonists are men who have merited much gratitude from the church for their struggles in behalf of the truth. Among these is Luther, who shows himself a determined opponent of John's Revelation. He says, in his preface to it:

"There are various and abundant reasons why I regard this book as neither apostolical nor prophetic. First and foremost; the apostles do not make use of visions, but prophecy in clear and plain language (as do Peter, Paul, and Christ also, in the Gospel); for it is becoming the apostolic office to speak plainly and without figure or vision, respecting Christ and his acts.—Moreover, it seems to me far too arrogant for him to enjoin it upon his readers to regard this his own work as of more importance than any other sacred book, and to threaten that if any one shall take aught away from it, God will take away from him his part in the book of life (Rev. xxii. 19.) Besides, even were it a blessed thing to believe what is contained in it, no man knows what that is. The book is believed in (and is really just the same to us) as though we had it not; and many more valuable books exist for us to believe in. But let every man think of it as his spirit prompts him. My spirit cannot adapt itself to the production, and this is reason enough for me why I should not esteem it very highly."

From this strong language of the great Reformer it is sufficiently evident how repulsive the contents of the Revelation were to him. As he termed the Epistle of James a *strawy* Epistle, because it seemed to him to contradict Paul's doctrine in regard to faith, so he rejected the Revelation, because the imagery of the book was unintelligible to him. This was obscure to him from the fact that he could not thoroughly apprehend the doctrine of God's kingdom upon earth, which is exhibited in the Revelation, and forms the proper centre of every thing contained in it.

The same point has at all times in the church operated very powerfully upon the judgments of learned men in regard to the Revelation; and therefore we must, before any particular ex-

amination of this production, make some general observations on the propriety of permitting doctrinal views generally, and the doctrine of God's kingdom upon earth particularly, to have an influence on criticism.

In recent times, critical investigations of the sacred books have pretty generally proceeded on the principle, that doctrinal views ought not to exert any influence upon inquiries respecting the genuineness of the Scriptures. It has been easy to lay down this principle, because generally¹ the binding authority of Sacred Writ has been denied, and writers have not felt it incumbent on them to admit as an object of faith every thing that was stated in genuine apostolic writings. Indeed, to many an investigator it has been very gratifying, that in genuine writings of the apostles things should occur which to him seemed evident errors; since in such case it became more easy to prove that the apostles even had stated many things erroneously, and that therefore what was true in their productions should be separated from what was false. With Luther, however, and all the other old theologians the case was different. They acknowledged the Scriptures as binding on their faith, and therefore could by no means wholly exclude doctrinal considerations. For, were a book proved to be apostolical by all possible historical and internal arguments, and yet it plainly subverted the Gospel and preached a different Christ from the true historical Son of God and man, no faithful teacher of the church of Christ should receive and use any such production, notwithstanding all the evidence in its favour, any more than listen to an angel from heaven, who should bring another Gospel (Gal. i. 8). Such was Luther's position; and in this view we may respect and honour his opposition to the Epistle of James and the Revelation of John. His only error in this, in itself commendable, endeavour boldly to distinguish what was anti-christian was, that he decided too rashly and hastily, and thus did not investigate with sufficient thoroughness, and, on the ground of appearances merely, pronounced that to be not biblical which in reality was so. That this was the case in regard to his judgment concerning the discrepancy between James and Paul, is at the present day universally admitted. In regard to the Revelation, however, many still think that he judged correctly, although, in my opinion, he erred here as much as in relation to the Epistle of James.

¹ That is, in Germany.—Tr.

We cannot say, therefore, that doctrinal considerations are not of the least consequence in critical investigations; though certainly we must not permit them to have an improper influence, so as to disturb the historical investigation, nor too hastily make an objective rule of our present subjective views, but endeavour to investigate more thoroughly what is at the moment obscure and inexplicable. Such an endeavour will often educe a modification of our views, and we may find that what seemed erroneous contains profound and sublime truth.

In particular, this would undoubtedly be the case with many, if they could determine to consider more closely the doctrine respecting God's kingdom upon earth, which has always been the greatest cause of offence in the Revelation. True, it is not to be denied, that the history of the fortune of this doctrine is by no means calculated to favour it; for every thing which human ignorance and human malice have been able to devise, appears to have concentrated itself in the misapprehensions of this doctrine. If, however, pains be taken to separate these misapprehensions and perversions from the doctrine itself, and we are impartial enough to consider, that often very profound truths, which take a mighty hold of the human mind, are most exposed to abuse, and may become most dangerous, and that hardly any other religion has been misused to such abominable purposes as the Christian religion itself, and yet that it is not on that account the less true, or the less divine, he will easily attain the proper fundamental idea of the doctrine of God's kingdom upon earth; which is so simple, that we cannot understand how its truth could ever be doubted, until we remember the farragos of nonsense which have been propounded under its sanction. This simple radical idea is merely, that as, in regard to an individual man, God, by the Saviour, redeems not merely a particular part of him, his spirit alone, his soul alone, or his body alone, but the *whole* man, his body, soul, and spirit, so the redeeming power of Christ has for its object the deliverance of the entire human race, and of the creation in general, from the yoke of sin. As, therefore, the end of salvation for the individual is the glorification of his nature, the end of all things in the universe on the same principle is the glorification of the universe. Proceeding from this fundamental idea, the Revelation teaches in sublime imagery, agreeing perfectly with the statements of our Lord and the apostles (which are less formal, and rather take the doctrine for

granted, and thus are more incidental), that a period will come in which not only, as had already been the case, the spirit of Jesus Christ should prevail in secret, and guide men's minds, but should also gain the victory externally, and found a kingdom of peace and righteousness upon earth. Now, that with the arrival of this reign of peace there will be connected, on the one hand, the appearance of Jesus Christ, and a resurrection of many saints and pious men, and, on the other, a previous mighty struggle on the part of evil,—does indeed follow very naturally from the fundamental idea, and the supposed development of good and evil; but these points are only incidental. The principal idea is the perfect return of the supremacy of good, the restoration of the lost paradise to an earth which has been laid waste by sin. Millions desire this most earnestly, hope and pray for it even, without ever imagining that it is the very doctrine which they think themselves bound to oppose, or at least unable to admit, without deviating from correct belief. Even the excellent Reformers had but an imperfect notion of this doctrine, though it is as simple as it is sublime; and for this reason, in a great measure, that they saw around them senseless fanatics who dishonoured the Gospel, and caused unspeakable injury by the grossest misconstructions and perversions of this doctrine.

It would not have been worth while, with our present purpose, to say even the little we have said on this subject, were there not so many well-meaning men, of real piety, who, notwithstanding the most striking historical proof, can never prevail upon themselves to admit the Revelation to be a genuine apostolic production, and therefore entitled to a place in the canon, and thus to become a rule of faith; because they feel that then they must in consequence admit the reign of God upon earth into their circle of belief, which they suppose they neither can, nor ought to do. May such be led to a thorough investigation of this idea, and of all the passages of Scripture which relate thereto, that the acknowledgment of evangelical truth in this respect may be promoted, and its fulfilment be rendered nearer at hand!

In passing now to the consideration of the historical evidence in favour of the genuineness of the Revelation, we must again call to mind the latter days of the life of John the Evangelist. He lived, as we know with certainty, longer than any one of the other apostles, that is, as late as to the end of the first century.

The scene of his successful labours at the close of his life was the city of Ephesus, in the vicinity of which were situated all those cities to which were directed the seven Epistles contained in the first chapters of the Revelation. Ephesus, moreover, was one of the great centres of business in the Roman empire, and was much frequented by Christians from all countries.

It must, therefore, be admitted, that it was easy for the Ephesian church particularly, and indeed for the whole ancient church, to arrive at the highest degree of certainty in regard to the writings of John. In particular, there could be no uncertainty whether John had composed so peculiar, so very remarkable a production as the Revelation. We must therefore admit, that if among the fathers of the church in that region we met with even uncertainty in regard to its author, it would be a very suspicious circumstance; and, on the other hand, unanimity in their conviction of the genuineness of the book must be a very decisive testimony in its favour. Now we meet with this last to a surprising degree. First, we have the testimony of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, in behalf of the book. This man was personally acquainted with several of the apostles, and among them with the Evangelist John. His testimony is therefore of the greatest consequence. It is true an attempt has been made to invalidate it, on the ground that only a late writer, named Andreas, attributes to Papias any knowledge of the Revelation; but careful consideration of the principal passage respecting Papias in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 39), which certainly ought to be thus examined, will show that Eusebius has given a wrong representation concerning Papias in more than one respect, and everything is in favour of the supposition, that Papias was acquainted with all John's writings. Eusebius is one of those fathers of the church who were very much prejudiced against the doctrine concerning the millennium, and it is on this account that he so strongly opposes Papias. Since this ancient bishop was a principal supporter of that doctrine, his testimony may on that account appear partial; and yet his close relation to John cannot have permitted him, notwithstanding all his predilection for this doctrine, to attribute to that writer a production which was not his. Justin Martyr, too, along with Papias, testifies in favour of the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse. He was, indeed, born in Palestine, but he taught in Ephesus, and there had opportunity to learn how things really

were. Now, this father expressly declares the Revelation to have been written by the Evangelist John, one of the twelve. So, too, Melito, bishop of Sardis, one of the cities to which the Epistles in the Revelation are addressed. We cannot but presume that such a man would know who was the author of a production which contained an Epistle to the church over which he presided.

The same is true of Polycarp, the celebrated bishop of Smyrna, to which church, likewise, an apocalyptic Epistle is addressed. This man was an immediate disciple of the Evangelist John. Polycarp's pupil, Irenæus, who removed from Asia Minor to the south of France, and, as has been already observed, became bishop of Lyons, gives us an account of Polycarp's relation to John, and makes use of the Revelation throughout his writings, without mentioning even the slightest opposition to it. It is also employed as really apostolical by the western fathers, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hippolytus, &c., without any mention of a doubt as to its canonical authority. Still, it may be said, none of these were either learned or critical; they found in the Revelation their favourite doctrine in regard to the kingdom of God upon earth, and therefore they readily received the book as a production of John's. In decided opposition to such remarks, we adduce the Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen. These were not only the most learned men of the day and the best skilled in criticism, but, in particular, were *opponents of the doctrine of the Millennium*; yet neither had any idea that the Revelation of John was not composed by the Evangelist of that name. They chose to get rid of the odious contents of the book by a forced interpretation, rather than by opposing the tradition of the whole church. A stronger combination of historical evidence in favour of the apostolic origin of the book is, in fact, hardly conceivable! The weight of this evidence is augmented by what we know respecting those who doubted the genuineness of the book. Of this number was a presbyter of the Roman church, whose name was Gaius. This man made it a set purpose to oppose the doctrine of the millennium; and because the defenders of it naturally appealed first of all to the Revelation, he declared it spurious, without, however, presenting any historical or critical reasons for doing so. In order to degrade the Revelation, it was even referred by him to a heretic, Cerinthus, who was said to have written it in John's name. But in this he clearly evinced that

he was carried away by his feelings, for no one can by any means attribute the Revelation to an intentional deceiver, for this reason, that it would have been one object with such a man to denote with precision the person of the Evangelist, so as to cause the work to be regarded as his. This, however, has not been done, and thus we are not permitted to take any view in opposition to it, except it be that another John, and not the Evangelist, composed it. This opinion was first stated and defended in a formal manner by the learned Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, a disciple of Origen. But, as this man lived at so late a period that authentic oral tradition was no longer within his reach, no more stress is to be laid upon his doubts than upon the learned objections of more modern days. We come therefore to this result: *All historical tradition is unanimous in behalf of John's composition of the Revelation.*

Now, in order to invalidate this decided testimony of antiquity, very striking arguments ought to be adduced; but observe what are the reasons which prevail upon modern investigators to deny that the Evangelist John was the author of the Revelation, and then judge whether they are strong enough to countervail such testimony. In enumerating these reasons, I follow a distinguished scholar of the present day, whom I very much esteem and love as my former instructor, although I differ entirely from his views. I do indeed believe him to be in general very impartial and unprejudiced; but nevertheless I think him to be influenced in his judgment of the Revelation by the force of prejudices which were largely imbibed by the church, and have been widely diffused.¹

In the first place, it is urged by this learned man that John never mentions himself in the Gospel and Epistles as the author of these writings; would he act differently then in the Apocalypse? It is true, he says only that this circumstance is worthy of attention; but as it stands as one of his arguments, it seems to have been regarded as of considerable importance. Of what consequence, however, is such a difference in practice, since all we can say is, simply, that the author chose in this case to employ a different form from his usual one? What writer is there who does not act as he pleases in regard to such points?

In the second place, the variation from his other writings in

¹ I mean Prof. De Wette, in his "Einleit. ins neue Testament" (Introd. to the N. Testament).

point of language is adduced as an argument. The fact is indisputable. The language of the Gospel is pure Greek, smooth and accurate; that of the Revelation, on the contrary, is harsh, rugged, full of inaccuracies of expression, and real grammatical mistakes. But it is not true that all difference in phraseology indicates different writers. Compare, e. g., the earliest writings of Göthe, Schiller, Herder, with the latest productions of the same authors. Especially take an author who attempts to write in a foreign language; must not his first essays be of a totally different character from his later ones? He has not complete mastery of the language; he struggles not only with the sense, but with the form; and this must necessarily make the phraseology even of the most practised intellect somewhat cumbrous. This is exactly the case with John's Revelation. It was his earliest production in the Greek language, occasioned by the fearful occurrences during Nero's persecution. These cast the sympathizing mind of the beloved disciple of Jesus into deep meditation, during which the spirit of prophecy showed him the future fortunes of the church, and its final conquest over Judaism and heathenism. It was, therefore, composed some twenty years earlier than the Gospel and Epistles seem to have been written, and in a language which to John, a native of Palestine, must have been a foreign one. Now, the Revelation appears exactly like the production of a man who had not yet acquired the requisite skill in the Greek language, and as its internal characteristics, likewise, show that it was written in the early part of John's life, before Jerusalem was destroyed, it is in fact impossible to see how one can ascribe importance to this circumstance of the difference of style, in opposition to the tradition that the Evangelist John was the author of the production; the rather as there is undeniably very much in the language which bears close affinity to those writings that are admitted to be John's.

The same may be said of the *third* observation, that the style of the Revelation is in the following respect very unlike that which we find in the Gospel and Epistles, viz. that the former exhibits a lively creative fancy, while, in the latter, quiet, deep feeling predominates. In regard to this remark, which likewise is correct, we are to consider, first, that the same individual in different stages of mental development will make use of different styles of expression. The earlier works of the same writer are accordingly more ardent, more imaginative than his later. More-

over, the imagery in the Revelation is not by any means to be regarded as the arbitrary production of a rich fancy, but rather as actual appearances to John's mind from the operation of the divine Spirit within him. I admit that John would not have been selected as the medium of these communications of the Spirit, had there not been in his whole organization a special adaptation for such impressions; but still, susceptibility to them is not the same as positive productive fancy. Finally, it is not to be forgotten in this view, that John's other writings are of a more historical or else purely didactic nature; while, on the other hand, the Revelation is a prophetic production. It would therefore be totally unnatural that the same style should be observable in the Apocalypse as in John's other writings.

The only remaining point alleged in confirmation of the difference between the Revelation and other writings of John is, that they exhibit a totally different *doctrinal aspect*. In particular, stress is laid on this circumstance, that in the Gospel nothing at all is found of what forms the main topic of the Apocalypse, viz. the expectation of a visible coming of our Lord, and the establishment of his kingdom upon earth. Moreover, all that is said in the Revelation respecting good and bad angels is of a more Jewish cast, we are told, than we should expect John's views to have been, from examining his other writings. It would appear that, if this be really so, it is a reason of some weight against the genuineness of the book; for we cannot suppose the apostles to have altered their doctrinal views, and, plainly, difference in the character of the writings could not affect the doctrine, as both in historical and prophetic productions there must exist the same fundamental views on the part of the writer. Now, the remark is indisputably correct, but the true reason of the fact has been misapprehended. For, first, the same difference which is exhibited between the Gospel of John and the Apocalypse, also appears, on comparison, between the Gospel of John and the first three Gospels. These latter, like the Revelation, present many doctrines and views agreeable to the Jews, particularly the visible coming of our Lord to assume his kingdom upon earth; while nothing of all this is touched upon by the Gospel of John, notwithstanding there was ample occasion for doing so. It does not thence follow, however, that either John or the others err in representing the discourses of Jesus Christ, since the same person *may* have spoken sometimes

spiritually, as in John's discourses, and sometimes in a Judaizing manner, as according to the other Evangelists. The correct solution of this difficulty is to be sought solely in the *special purpose* of the Gospel of John, with which the first Epistle stands in such intimate connection that it is not strange it should partake of the same character. The two other Epistles are too short to be here taken into consideration. For above (in the third chapter in speaking of the Gospel of John,) it was observed, that this Evangelist had a particular class of persons in view in his work, viz. men similar to the later Gnostics, and who in certain views coincided with them perfectly. In particular, they, like the Gnostics, speculated on divine things in a peculiar manner, and sought to idealize the real facts in the history of Jesus, more than the true apostolic doctrine permitted. These men, among whom were many very sensible and well-meaning persons, were those whom John had particularly in view in the composition of his Gospel. With apostolic wisdom he avoided in this work every thing which could offend the prejudices of these persons. Many Jewish ideas, which had a very good and genuine foundation, and, according to the first Gospels, were expressed by the Saviour himself, he kept back, becoming in a manner a Gnostic to the Gnostics, without doing the least injury, however, to the cause of truth. He depicted Christianity, therefore, to their minds, just as they could most easily comprehend it, convinced that when once they had seized this idea, they would gradually learn to understand it thoroughly.

If, now, we adhere steadfastly to this point of view, it will appear perfectly intelligible, how the same John who wrote thus in the Gospel, should appear to express himself so differently in the Revelation, in the composition of which no such reference existed; though still he was always governed by the same doctrinal views at every period of his life. And thus we must declare, that no one of these reasons is calculated to disturb us in regard to the correctness and truth of the tradition of the first centuries after Christ. If the repugnance which is felt towards the contents of the Apocalypse be only conquered, men will soon cease to rate so highly the reasons which are adduced against its apostolic origin, and to think so little of the importance of the unanimous tradition of antiquity. And that this may soon happen is the more to be wished, as the progressive development of the church makes the Revelation more and more

important in testing what is now occurring among Christians, and what awaits them in the immediate future!

CONCLUSION.

HAVING thus passed through the entire series of the writings of the New Testament, taking notice of the critical questions in regard to them, we will now, for the sake of convenience, present a compendious view of the *results* at which we have arrived.

We find then most, and the most important, of the writings in the canon of the New Testament, so unanimously acknowledged in ancient times, and so universally made use of as apostolical in later days, that there cannot be the least doubt in regard to them. They are on this account denominated *Homologoumena*, universally acknowledged writings, and form the main sources of the doctrine and history of the Christian church. Among these Homologoumena, as is stated by Eusebius so early as the commencement of the fourth century, were the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen Pauline Epistles, the first Epistle of Peter, and the first of John. If we attend only to the voice of Christian antiquity, as Eusebius correctly observes, the Apocalypse also does in reality belong among the Homologoumena. But the fortune of this book has been so peculiar, that some have not even been willing to class it among the Antilegomena, but have ranked it with the writings which are of a profane character, and are to be utterly rejected. Eusebius was therefore in great perplexity to what class he could properly assign the Revelation. As to the Epistle to the Hebrews, its author is unknown, merely; its genuineness is not disputed. It belongs, therefore, to the class of the *Antilegomena* only so far as this, that its position in the canon was disputed; the relation of the author to the Apostle Paul not being unanimously acknowledged in the church.

Properly, the class of the *Antilegomena* among the New Testament writings comprehends the two smaller Epistles of John, the Epistles of James and Jude, and the second Epistle of Peter. These five books were never universally acknowledged and used in the ancient church. More recent investigation has decided in favour of the first three. The two smaller Epistles of John

are certainly apostolical, and from the author of the Gospel of John; that of James was not, indeed, written by one of the twelve, but by a brother of our Lord, who held such a prominent rank in the ancient church as placed him, like Paul, fully on a level with the apostles. As to the two writings last in the list, however, it appears justly somewhat doubtful whether they are productions of the days of the apostles. The Epistle of Jude is, indeed, certainly genuine, but as certainly not apostolical; and, as history attributes to this brother of our Lord no very prominent station or agency, the Epistle seems not properly to belong to the canon. It can be supported only by the second Epistle of Peter, which is not itself certainly of apostolical origin. For, in regard to the latter, a consideration of the circumstances makes it impossible to establish its genuineness objectively on valid grounds, although it may be made subjectively probable.

These results of the most careful critical investigation of the New Testament are very satisfactory. For, if we could wish that the genuineness and canonical character of the Antilegomena might be established by as valid arguments as we can adduce in behalf of the Homologoumena, still it must be admitted that those books upon which some suspicion rests, are the very books, of all the New Testament writings, with which we can most easily dispense. The chief and best of these writings are the very ones whose genuineness and apostolic authority are certified as strongly as possible.

If, now, we inquire into the relation between the *external* historical genuineness of the books of the New Testament, and their *internal* efficacy and determinate power over the faith and life of the individual, and of the whole community of Christians, it is certainly undeniable, that the former by itself decides nothing in favour of the latter; but still, on account of the circumstances of the church, demonstration of such genuineness is by no means unimportant or indifferent. It is clear that we may regard the writings of another religious system, the Zend-Avesta of the Parsees, or the Koran of the Mahometans, as genuine, and as having proceeded from the immediate circle of adherents which the founder of that system of religion possessed, without thereby attributing to it any internal efficacy and determining power over the heart and life. But it cannot be said that a conviction of the genuineness of the apostolic origin of

the writings of the New Testament, likewise, is a matter of indifference. It is rather of great consequence in its connection with the church, i.e. the great community founded by our Saviour, and actuated and sustained by his Spirit. You may prove the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament to him who is not within the pale of the church, or under its spiritual influence, and he may even acknowledge it upon incontestible historical grounds; but, as Christ, and his apostles themselves, are of no consequence in relation to his internal life, this proof has no more effect upon his faith or his life, than is produced upon those of the scholar who declares the Zend-Avesta to be a genuine work of Zoroaster. Far otherwise is it with him who lives in the bosom of the Christian church. Here he cannot completely withdraw himself from the influence of the Spirit of Christ, which operates upon his heart from his earliest youth; he feels himself spiritually affected, and in a manner constrained by it. It is true that sinful man very often strives against the influence of the Holy Spirit, it being troublesome to him, because it does not permit him to continue sinning so freely and peaceably as he could wish. In such case he seeks to obtain plausible grounds on which he may evade the force of the Spirit's influence. One such plausible ground is often presented by the supposition that the writings of the New Testament are spurious, whereby the extraordinary character of our Saviour, with the sublime impression he made on the hearts of men, is encompassed with doubt, and thus its effect is diminished. To members of the church of Christ, therefore, a firm conviction that the Scriptures are genuine, is of the highest consequence; the opposite opinion, yea, uncertainty merely, in regard to the character of the sacred writings, is ordinarily the natural concomitant of sin. Such a sentiment hinders the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, which manifests itself, in a manner not to be mistaken, to every simple, plain mind, on perusal of the Holy Scriptures, but exhibits its full strength only when the heart feels a quiet faith, undisturbed by any doubt. Hence the conversion of many has taken rise from their acknowledgment of the genuineness of the New Testament writings; and moreover, the apostacy of many from the truth has arisen out of the circumstance that they denied the authenticity of these books. We may therefore say, that the knowledge of the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament is of es-

sential efficacy where the influence of the Spirit of God, and a susceptibility to its operations exist in any degree. To him who has already turned aside entirely from the truth, and who resists it with an unfriendly mind, a conviction of the genuineness of these books will be of little use, unless his opposition be first broken by the power of grace. To him who is converted, born again, the sure conviction of their genuineness will always be a pleasing concomitant of grace, and will excite his gratitude; but, as he has experienced in his heart the divine power which dwells in the Scriptures, the testimony of the Holy Spirit will always be the proper foundation of his faith, which would support him even though he had no historical proofs in behalf of the sacred books. Persons, however, who have neither experienced a perfect change of heart and mind, nor are actuated by a positively hostile spirit, but ardently desire the former, though they are often assailed by doubts and uncertainties, will find in the firm historical foundation of Scripture something on which they may lean at first, and from which they may then be gradually led to the full knowledge of salvation. For, if it be only admitted that such a life as that which the Scriptures represent our Saviour's to have been was really spent, that such words as they communicate to us from him were really spoken, the obvious question is, Whence came such a phenomenon? What is its import to the world? to me?

But, it may here be asked, if the case is thus, how happens it that God has permitted many plausible objections to exist against the writings of the New Testament, and that some cannot even be freed wholly from suspicion? Would it not have been more consistent with the purpose of the Scriptures, had all the books been supported by so numerous and so completely incontestible testimonies, that not even a doubt concerning them could ever have entered any one's mind? It may indeed seem so to short-sighted man. But his desires would not stop here, they would reach still further. He would wish to have a Bible without various readings, a biblical history free from the slightest variations, in short, Jehovah himself embodied in the letter of the word. The living God, who is eternal wisdom and love, has not thought any thing of this kind suitable for mankind; otherwise he would undoubtedly have effected it for their benefit; and the reasons why he has not we may at least conjecture, even with our weak powers. On the one hand, it would have become easier for man

to confound the word and the Spirit dwelling in it with the letter; for, even, as the case now is, this mistake has not been entirely avoided, from the want of spirituality in many men. On the other hand, the guilt of many persons would have been augmented, since they now have at least plausible reasons for their opposition to the truth, but in the other case would have had no such extenuation, and still would have retained their hostility to God's word. We may therefore declare, that the character of Scripture, in this respect likewise, corresponds most perfectly with the necessities of human nature, as well as with the designs of God, notwithstanding all its apparent imperfections and deficiencies.

The observations we have here made in conclusion are, moreover, such as are best suited to present the correct view concerning the peculiar character of the Old Testament in the light of criticism. For this portion of God's word has so few historical evidences in its favour, excepting those comprehended within its own compass, that it is impossible to frame such an argument for the genuineness of its books as we are able to exhibit in behalf of the New Testament. This want of evidence proceeds in part from the very great antiquity of the writings of the Old Testament, which were almost all composed before there existed any literature among the Greeks, and before the Romans were so much as known by name; and in part, also, from the state of seclusion which the nations of the old world generally, and particularly the Jews, always maintained. The Persians, Syrians, Egyptians, knew scarce anything of the literature of the Hebrews; and, had they even been acquainted with it, the circumstance would have been of little advantage to us, as we have but few writings of a date anterior to the time of Christ which originated with these nations. In these few, moreover, we find hardly any mention of the Jews and their productions. Hence, in investigating the earliest writings of the Old Testament, the critic has no other resource than a careful examination of the contents of the books themselves, and a comparison of them with each other. Were this examination and comparison invariably conducted with a believing and humble disposition, not the slightest objection could be made, and we might quietly await the results of such a procedure; but, when the minds of investigators deviate from the proper spirit and disposition, it is very evident how easily such an inquiry, which is in its nature somewhat uncertain and precarious, may lead to pernicious results.

Every one will, in such a case, determine the matter according to his subjective ideas and views, without obtaining any objective grounds of judgment from investigation. If we only look at the actual state of the matter, entirely aside from the holy character of the book, we shall be convinced that such a course of investigation could hardly afford any useful result, even with the best intentions. A book is presented to us, which contains the relics of a nation's literature during a period of 1200 years. We derive all that we can know of the history, the manners, the special circumstances of this people, excepting a few points, from this book alone. Thus it is at once the *object* and the *norm* of investigation. Since, moreover, in regard to many of the writings in it we have no statement as to their author and the time of their composition, the investigation of these writings cannot but have always a character of uncertainty. If we were only familiarly acquainted with the history of a single nation in close vicinity to the Jews, and found in its literature constant reference to the Jewish writings, we might then, by drawing a parallel, communicate more stability to the criticism of the Old Testament, but we have no such advantage, and must content ourselves with individual notices, which have come down to us from the most ancient times of the nations with which the Jews came in contact. It was not till the time of Alexander the Great, about 300 years B. C., that the Jews, with their literature, became known to the Greeks, through whom we have received much important information in regard to the Old Testament. For, as the Jews, after that period, when they fell under Greek dominion, made themselves acquainted with the Greek literature, and to some extent themselves wrote in Greek, as e. g. the celebrated Jewish writers, *Josephus* and *Philo*, so, on the other hand, the Greeks began to take an interest in the Jews and their religious institutions. From this mixture of Hebrew and Greek life proceeded the celebrated *Greek Version of the Seventy*. This, according to the account of the ancients, was executed under the Egyptian monarch *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, at the instance of the learned *Demetrius Phalereus*, about the year 270 B. C. It is true, the Old Testament was not probably translated all at once, but, at any rate, even according to the most recent opinion, the Old Testament was entirely translated into Greek when *Jesus Sirach* was composed, i. e. about the year 130 B. C. Consequently, it is placed beyond a doubt that the whole Old Testament, as we

have it, existed in Palestine in the Hebrew language long before the time of Christ and his Apostles, and in a Greek version in the other countries of the Roman Empire, particularly in Egypt, where there resided so large a number of Jews, and they possessed so great privileges, that they had even built a temple in the city of *Leontopolis* in close imitation of that at Jerusalem. In Egypt, the collection of the Apocryphal books likewise, which were confessedly written in Greek, was inserted in the canon of the Old Testament, which was spread abroad by the version of the seventy interpreters, and from this version they were introduced into the Latin church-version, (the so-called *Vulgate*,) thus obtaining the same authority as the writings of the Old Testament, which authority they possess at the present day in the Catholic church. As, however, they are not *expressly* cited in the New Testament,¹ and are wholly wanting in the Hebrew canon of the Old Testament, Luther rightly separated them from the rest, but appended them to the books of the Old Testament, as “*Writings not to be equally esteemed with Holy Writ, but still profitable and excellent for perusal.*” The Reformed Church, however, has gone still farther, and dissevered them entirely from the collection of sacred books, in order to prevent them from being confounded with the inspired word. Hence arose this great evil, that the historical connection between the Old and New Testament, which is so well exhibited in the narrative writings of the Apocrypha, was totally sundered; and this connection is by no means a matter of indifference to believers, because it is only through it that God’s providence towards his people can be regarded in the light of an united whole. Hence it would seem best to retain the apocryphal writings along with the Sacred Scriptures, designating, indeed, the distinction between them and the canonical books.

Thus much, then, according to these statements, we know certainly from historical testimony, that the Old Testament, as we now have it, existed more than a century before Christ. It is true the learned would be gratified to know a great deal more respecting the formation of the canon of the Old Testament, respecting the authors of the individual writings, &c. But, in view merely of the relation of the Old Testament to the faith of the present day, the knowledge that the Old Testament was in

¹ Allusions to them are pointed out by *Steir* in his “*Andeutungen für Glaubwürdige Schrifterklärung*,” (or Hints towards the proper interpretation of the Scriptures,) p. 486, seq.

a complete collected form before the time of Christ, is sufficient to afford us a firm conviction of the genuineness and importance of its books. Now, that the existing Old Testament was generally diffused and in use among the Jews, is attested by the Jewish writers of the apostolic times, who employed the Greek language in their writings. *Philo*, in Egypt, and *Josephus*, in Palestine, make use of the Old Testament throughout their works, thereby confirming the custom of the New Testament, which also everywhere refers to the Old Testament. The *manner* in which the Old Testament is cited by the New, and the definite declarations in regard to the former which are contained in the latter, are decisive as to the faith of Christians of the present day. These afford us more than the mere assurance that the books of the Old Testament are authentic; this might be admitted, without the slightest acknowledgment of the value of the writings, since the most wretched and even hurtful productions may be perfectly genuine. They declare in the most precise manner the *Divine character* of these books, which of course presupposes their genuineness, for it is very evident that no writings could be Divine which originated in deceit and imposture.

In the first place, we find in the New Testament citations from almost all the writings of the Old Testament.¹ The principal books, as e.g., the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Prophet Isaiah, are cited very often, and even those less important are referred to here and there in the New Testament. A very few are entirely neglected;² of this number, in particular, is Solomon's Song, which is nowhere cited in all the New Testament. This circumstance is certainly not accidental. Perhaps it is not too much to conclude, that the books of the Old Testament which are not at all mentioned in the New, should be regarded very much as the so-called deuterocanonical books of the New Testament; though the circumstance that they are not cited in the

¹ The Old Testament is expressly cited in the New more than four hundred times, and in a much larger number of places there are allusions to the Old Testament.

² The Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song, as also the minor Prophets, Obadiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah. It is most proper, however, to consider the twelve Prophets as *one work*; and then the fact that these three are not cited loses its force. But in regard to other books of the Old Testament the circumstance that they are not cited is not unimportant.

New Testament can be nowise objected against their genuineness, any more than the position of a New Testament book among the Antilegomena can be considered as a proof of its spuriousness. These non-cited books of the Old Testament, with the exception of the three minor prophets, probably present something like a *transition* to the apocryphal books. At all events, the fact that these books are nowhere mentioned in the New Testament should inculcate upon us *caution in making use of them*.

Of more importance than the citations, are such passages of the New Testament as contain decisive declarations respecting the Old Testament as a whole. These occur particularly in the discourses of our Lord himself. Jesus calls the law (Matth. v. 17 seq.) eternal, imperishable. Heaven and earth, he says, shall pass away, but not one jot or tittle of the law shall pass away till all be fulfilled. In a similar manner, in Luke xxiv. 44, prophecy concerning Christ is represented as something running through the law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms, and as necessary to be fulfilled. In Luke xvi. 17, also, all created things, (heaven and earth), it is said, will sooner and more easily pass away than the Law and the Prophets. Thus a lofty divine character is clearly claimed in behalf of the Old Testament. It may, indeed, be observed on the contrary, that, in the passages referred to, allusion is made, not to the whole Old Testament, but only to particular books, the Mosaic law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. But, first, it is to be noticed, that the expression, Law, or Law and Prophets, stands frequently for the whole Old Testament, just as Gospel stands for the whole New Testament. Moreover, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, was the usual division of the books of the Old Testament among the Jews. The first part of the Hebrew Old Testament comprehends the five books of Moses, the second part falls into two sub-divisions, first the historical writings, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and, secondly, the three larger and 12 minor Prophets. In the third part (which in Luke xxiv. 44, is termed *Psalms*, from the principal book which it contains,) belong moreover, besides the Psalms, the book of Job, the writings of Solomon, the book of Daniel, and some later historical books, and, lastly, the book of Chronicles. But, entirely aside from this Jewish division of the Old Testament, the connection of these passages with the citations clearly shows, that they are intended to refer to the whole Old Testament.

The citations in the New Testament from the Old are not adduced as mere confirmation, drawn from human productions of great value, but as irrefragable proofs from sacred books. This power of proof could have belonged to them only from the fact that they were not bare compositions of human wisdom, but those of men who were moved by the Holy Ghost. (Compare 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.) Now, as citations from all the principal writings of the Old Testament occur in the New, the general declarations we have mentioned must of course refer to all the writings of the Old Testament, so as to attribute to them *a common character*, viz. that of a divine origin.

To this it is to be added, that throughout Scripture there runs the doctrine of a deep, essential connection between the Old and New Testaments. As the Old Testament is always pointing onward to the New, so the latter is always pointing backward to the Old, as its necessary precedent. Consequently, both alike bear the character of a divine revelation; only, this revelation manifests itself in a gradual development. In the Old Testament it appears in its commencement as the seed of the subsequent plant; in the New Testament the living plant itself is exhibited. On account of this relation, there cannot be anything in the Old Testament specifically different from what is to be found in the New Testament; only, the form of presenting the same thing is at one time more or less plain and direct than at another.

These declarations of the New Testament in regard to the Old are, to Christians, not mere private assertions of wise, good, and pious men, such as many in our day are in the habit of supposing Jesus and his apostles to have been; they exhibit, rather, authentic information respecting the real character of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. Christ, as the Son of the living God, as absolute truth itself, who alone knew the Father, and as the source of all real revelation from him, can have made such declarations concerning the writings of the Old Testament, only with the strictest sincerity, (as is the case with every thing he did or said,) and must have designed that they should be a rule to his church, since his whole life on earth had but one single aim, that of developing the heavenly and eternal to the created world. Thus, had Jesus attributed the character of eternity to a production to which it by no means belonged, he would have counteracted his own sole purpose. The same is true of the

apostles, who, in that respect to which our attention is now directed, are to be considered as upon a level with Christ himself; they being pure organs of the mind of Christ; though, in themselves considered, they were but sinful men, and desired to be so regarded. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit they acknowledged the eternal character of the Old Testament, and their declarations on this point are not (any more than those of our Lord himself,) mere subjective, private statements, they are rather authentic accounts respecting the character of this part of Holy Writ. In considering the force of the apostolic declarations concerning the authority of the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, we are to regard, not merely the citations of individual passages from it, or general statements respecting its authors, such as their being at one time represented as moved by the Holy Ghost (2 Pet. i. 21), and at another Holy Scripture being called instruction unto salvation (2 Tim. iii. 15), which, as the New Testament was not then collected, can refer only to the Old; but we are especially to observe the manner in which the citations are adduced from the Old Testament. This is most remarkable in the Epistle to the Hebrews, although similar passages also occur in the Gospels and other books of the New Testament. In this remarkable Epistle, God or the Holy Ghost is constantly named as the speaker, in the passages which are adduced from the Old Testament; and this not only in regard to those which are accompanied in the Old Testament by the expression, "God said," but also to those in which some man speaks,—for instance David, as author of a Psalm. Herein is clearly exhibited the view of the author in relation to the Old Testament and the writers of it. He considered that God was, by his Holy Spirit, the living agent and speaker in them all, so that, consequently, the Holy Scriptures were to him *purely a work of God*, although brought forward by men. That the genuineness of these writings was equally certain to him, follows of course, because that which is divine, as has been before remarked, can never appear in the form of a forgery.

It is true, however, that such a proof in behalf of the Old Testament is valid only for him who has become convinced, by living experience, of the truth of God in Christ and the infallibility of the Spirit which actuated his disciples. Where this truth and infallibility are either flatly denied, or even merely doubted, the observations we have made may be of no weight. For such

persons we cannot frame an argument in behalf of the Old Testament which shall be valid against all objections. As to us who live according to Christ, and to whom the power of his Spirit is accessible, every thing must radiate from the centre of the New Testament scenes, viz. the Saviour himself. The conviction of his eternal power and Godhead establishes the Old Testament retrospectively, and also establishes the New Testament prospectively, by the promise of his Spirit, which should bring all those things which he had said to his disciples to their remembrance. On this conviction the assurance of the genuineness and divinity of Scripture forever rests, and much more securely, than upon any external historical proofs; for it wholly takes away the possibility of an attack in any quarter on the part of human sophistry, and leaves assurance safe in the unassailable sanctuary of our interior life.

THE GOSPELS
OF
MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE.

Ut homines nascerentur ex Deo, primo ex ipsis natus est Deus.
AUGUSTINUS.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. OF THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPEL-COLLECTION.

As the revelation of God presents itself to mankind in two principal forms in the law and in the gospel, so in like manner is holy Scripture divided into two parts, of which the one refers to the covenant made by God with man under the *law*, and the other to the covenant of *grace*. Because the living word of God, the everlasting cause by which these covenants are ever renewed, dwells within them, hence the Scriptures themselves which refer to the same have been called the *old* and *new* covenant (ברית = διαθήκη,¹ the Vulgate translates it *Testamentum*; comp. 2 Cor. iii. 14). The writings of the New Testament are those which here engage our attention; the same, however, always necessarily pre-suppose the Old Testament. The New Testament rests on the Old, as the tree rests on the root; the latter, however, appears in the New in a state of consummation. As a collection, we find the New Testament was not completed until the end of the fourth century. In the course of this century, three smaller collections grew together into one, thus forming a whole. These are the *Gospels*, the *Epistles of St Paul*, and the *general Epistles*, together with some more isolated writings which form the transition and conclusion, such as the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation.

The origin of the first of these three smaller collections of the

¹ The expression διαθήκη occurs nevertheless in the New Testament (as in the Acts of the Apostles iii. 25, Gal. iii. 15, Heb. ix. 16) also as signifying a testament, that is, the leaving of an inheritance to children, or others.

εὐαγγελικόν first demands our attention. The period during which our four canonical Gospels were collected is lost in the first ages of Christianity; as far as the historical records of the church go, we everywhere find the same in use, in all parts of the world, yea, in all the circles of the church, whether they belonged to the orthodox, or constituted some sect; nay, they were known even to Pagan writers, as for instance to Celsus, who not only used them, but likewise held them in high estimation.¹ Many heretics—as, for example, Marcion, the Jewish Christians, and others—it is true, did not use the entire collection of the Gospels, but availed themselves only of one or other of them, yet the collection was known to them; and if they did not adopt them for their use, it was because they did not feel themselves justified, according to their notions, in regarding the authors of them as men competent to decide in matters of faith.² This leads necessarily to the supposition that the collection of the Gospels must have originated very early; respecting this, however, no particulars are recorded. Whether it emanated from a single individual, or from a certain church, or from a council, remains doubtful. The latter supposition, indeed, is the most improbable, since we find no record whatever of councils held previous to the middle of the second century. It is very possible, however, that some distinguished individual or church formed the collection. Yet every historical vestige is wanting to prove this fact; and it would appear as though the *general* circulation of the collection, as it existed during the first half of the second century, must direct our attention to another mode of its formation. Namely, if we proceed from the authenticity of the four Gospels, and if we at the same time suppose (as indeed we must, since all authenticated information respecting other apostolical gospels is wanting) that they *only* have originated with the apostles, or that they enjoy an apostolical confirmation; we then shall no longer have to suppose, for the explanation of the origin of the Gospel-collection, either a certain period, a certain place, or, finally, a particular motive,

¹ For further information on this subject see *my* work entitled “über die Aechtheit der Evangelien, aus der Geschichte der zwei ersten Jahrhunderte erwiesen.” Königsberg 1823. 8vo. pag. 267, sqq.

² As for instance the Gnostic Marcion, who considered Matthew and even John as Judaists (comp. *my* work, “über die Aechtheit der Evangelien,” p. 359, sqq.

but we shall be free to assume that it originated in various places at one and the same time. The animated intercourse that existed among the ancient Christian communions led to prove this result, that all those gospel records which could prove an apostolical authority, and that they had been bequeathed to the church of Christ as precious gifts, were speedily sent round; and as these four Gospels only could prove such authority as being genuine apostolical writings, and that, too, by means of unquestionable testimonies, they were joined together into one collection. They were deposited in the course of time, and in proportion as they spread throughout the church, in the archives belonging to the churches, which necessarily originated early with the presbyters and bishops, they were very soon multiplied by means of copies made from the original. Let us then suppose at the same time (against which no historical objection can be raised) that the evangelists wrote in the order in which we now find the Gospels in the canon; besides the general circulation of the collection, the fact will then become clearly established, that we have but slender means to prove that the position of the Gospels in the collection has differed from its present order;¹ a circumstance, which, without the supposition that the Gospels were written in this order, would speak in favour of the opinion, that some individual or church must have disposed the collection in the manner in which it exists at present, for had it been otherwise, a contemporaneous formation of the collection in several places would have led inevitably to deviations in the relative position of the Gospels, especially to such deviations as the immediate succession of St Matthew and St John, an hypothesis most natural and obvious.

§ 2. OF THE CHARACTER OF THE GOSPEL-COLLECTION.

The ancient church justly regarded the Gospel-collection as a unity; wherefore it was called by her simply *εὐαγγέλιον*, or

¹ The codex D, as also the Gothic translation, place, for instance, the Gospel of St John immediately after that of St Matthew. This is evidently done in order to separate both these apostolical works from those of the colleagues of the apostles. (Comp. *Hug's* Einleit. in's N. T., vol. i. p. 475, and the Subscriptions (Notes) of the Gospels in the edition of *Schulz*.)

εὐαγγελικόν,¹ as containing the glad tidings of the Saviour's appearance in the world, and as giving an account of the life, ministry, and sufferings of Christ. (Comp. *Iren.* adv. haer. i. 17, 29; iii. 11). The combination into a whole of these four authenticated records respecting the Redeemer, was considered, moreover, not as merely accidental, but men perceived in it a necessity dictated by a higher power, similar to the one that led to the formation and arrangement of the sacred writings. Hence, there might as well have been a greater or smaller number of gospels, and also their position might have been altered, without destroying the harmony of the whole. Irenaeus (in the passage mentioned iii. 11, p. 221, in the edition of *Grabe*,) therefore calls the collection of the Gospels very significantly an *εὐαγγέλιον τετραμόρφον*, and describes it as a picture representing one and the same sublime subject from various points of view. The relation in which the Gospels stand to one another, as also to the other writings of the New Testament, favours the correctness of this view. Thus, that which is omitted in one Gospel, is supplied by another, and by this form of representation, we have a statement of the person of the Redeemer. The life of Christ afforded such an abundance of sacred phenomena, and his discourses breathed forth so rich a stream of *life* through the circle of his disciples, that single individuals were unable completely to comprehend the exceeding greatness of his person. In him was revealed that which far exceeded the comprehension of any single human individual, and hence it required many minds, who, as it were, mirror-like, received the rays that proceeded from him, the Sun of his own spiritual world, and who again presented the same image in various forms of refraction. Conceptions of so diversified a character of our Lord, in his divine-human ministry, are contained in these four Gospels, which,

¹ The New Testament simply displays the true signification of the word *εὐαγγέλιον*=*εὐαγγέλιον* and that especially in reference to the glad tidings of the Messiah's advent. Some have erroneously asserted that they perceive the tropical meaning of the word *εὐαγγέλιον*, which refers to those Scriptures exhibiting the ministry of the Messiah, as in passages such as Rom. ii. 16, x. 16. The inscriptions of our gospels are of a later date; besides, the expression *εὐαγγέλιον*, refers simply to the subject-matter of the writings, not to the writings themselves. In the classical usage of the word, *εὐαγγέλιον* signifies also the reward of a good message, the gift conferred on him who brings good news. (For further information, comp. *Passow's Lexicon*).

combined, form a complete picture of Christ. Without the dispensation of God, therefore, in which several individuals were appointed to record the life of Christ, either his human-natural, or divine-supernatural acts, would appear less carefully conceived, in proportion as either the one or other part of this sublime quadruple image had been wanting.

Admirable, however, as this obvious relation of the Gospels to one another must appear, to every one who is unable to trace the development of the church, and, above all, this apparently undesigned construction of the sacred writings, yet, from this circumstance, it is difficult to estimate with precision the character of each separate Gospel, a difficulty, indeed, which is by no means calculated to mislead us as to the original view, but which, on the contrary, challenges us to a deeper inquiry into the nature of the Gospels. It is quite evident that, in the representation of Christ, *St Matthew* has delineated more of the human and condescending parts of his character, and *St John*, especially, more of his exalted nature. *St Matthew*, in describing Christ, shows us human nature transformed into a state of Godhead, and *St John* presents to us the Godhead descended from heaven in the form of humanity. More difficult is it to assign an exact relation to *St Mark* and *St Luke*, inasmuch as both these evangelists form the connecting link of the two former, who form the extremes. We are, however, led much farther, on comparing the Gospels with the views entertained throughout the ancient church. Namely, as *St Matthew* no doubt exhibits the Judaistic, and *St John* the Gnostic element, in their true tendencies, so, in like manner, *St Mark* and *St Luke* appear to portray the Pagano-Christian element; the former, perhaps, more in the Roman, and the latter in the Greek form. Yet, we perceive this peculiarity less conspicuous in *St Mark*. However, that he is not entirely devoid of it, appears evident from the circumstance, that a portion of the ancient church particularly adopted his gospel. (This portion itself of the ancient church is involved in impenetrable mystery. Comp. my "Geschichte der Aechth. der Evang." p. 96, &c). As the Gospels, therefore, represent, in the manner intimated, the various views of the ancient church, which, indeed, are equally applicable, although under other names and forms, to every age, so they correspond, in like manner, with the gradual development of internal life, which can never unfold itself by descending from the

high degree of intelligence of St John, down to the material life of St Matthew, but which, on the contrary, can only be by ascending from St Matthew to St John.

Moreover, if we consider the gospel-collection in its relation to the totality of the New Testament, it will then appear clear, as forming the basis of the whole. In the Epistles of St Paul, the gospel displays itself in its various branches and applications, in point of doctrine as well as practice; the general Epistles form a continuation of all that is contained germ-like in the Gospels, and in the Revelation we behold, finally, the prophetic blossom of the life of the New Testament, based upon the root and the branches sent forth by the former. The whole of the New Testament, therefore, forms a complete unity, and resembles a living plant. The beginning and end are understood with the utmost difficulty, because it is here where we find the thoughts most crowded together; wherefore it is advisable to begin the deeper study of the New Testament, if internal experience be not entirely wanting, with the Epistle to the Romans; since this part of Scripture enlarges purposely on all that is specified in the gospel. After a careful study of the minute explanations contained in this important Epistle, there will be no difficulty in understanding many a subject of a more brief and more obscure character, treated of in other writings of the New Testament. But as the whole of the New Testament forms the subject of our inquiry, we shall follow up the order of the books therein specified, that we may not anticipate, in any manner, the wishes and views of our readers.

§ 3. OF THE AFFINITY OF THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

To institute an inquiry concerning the difficult problem presented to us by the similarity existing between the three first Gospels, which appears to be disturbed by as many remarkable deviations, can here, of course, find no more place, than a history of the experiments that have been made to solve the problem. Both have their proper place in the introductory science, inasmuch as the subjects of the first paragraph find there a more specific treatment. The expounder is nevertheless bound to render an account to his readers of the manner in which he views this remarkable phenomenon, since the understanding of

very many passages depends, as a matter of course, upon the view taken of the origin of the Gospels. I shall, therefore, state here briefly the *results* of my inquiries.

Both the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke appear to me to have been composed independently of each other. The Gospel of St Matthew, indeed, displays much experience and acquaintance with oral traditions, and that of St Luke appears to be a compilation of separate smaller compositions (*Diegeses*, i.e. narratives or histories), of which Luke was the editor. Whatever is common in both Gospels, may be explained for the most part by presupposing a relation to exist between the written and oral sources,¹ resorted to by both authors independent of each other. In another respect, the supposition, that both had recourse to sources nearly related to one another, appears to be insufficient for the explanation of the affinity existing between St Matthew and St Luke. I find, indeed, no uniformity of plan to pervade both works, and more especially as regards that portion of them which relates to the supposed limitation of the sphere of the history of Christ previous to his last journey to Galilee; for in that respect there is much of a varied character, and this limitation of the sphere of Christ's ministry to Galilee, in the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke, remains altogether unproved, inasmuch as it is not based on positive grounds, but solely on their silence concerning the festive journeys, and the want of chronological and topographical notices; yet there exists in many places so strong a verbal harmony between St Matthew and St Luke, that it cannot well be maintained, that both have written even such passages independent of each other, or that they have only used sources of the same kind. Comp. Matth. iii. 7—10, with Luke iii. 7—9. Matth. vii. 3—5, with Luke vi. 41—42. Matth. vii. 7—11 with Luke xi. 9—13. Matth. viii. 9, with Luke vii. 8. Matth. viii. 19—22, with Luke ix. 57—60. Matth. ix. 5, 6, with Luke v. 23, 24. Matth. ix. 37, 38, with Luke x. 2. Matth. xi. 4—11, with Luke vii. 23—28. Matth. xii. 41—45, with Luke xi. 24—26, 31, 32. Yet, the opinion that the one has used the *complete* writings of the other, is opposed by insurmountable difficulties, since it becomes

¹ As such a *Diegesis* (*διήγησις*), edited by Luke, may probably be considered the full account of Christ's journey, which is peculiar to Luke, from ix. 51—xviii. 14 (comp. on this subject *Schleiermacher* "über die Schriften des Lucas," p. 158, &c.

in that case inexplicable why the one has not equally used or left unnoticed the account of the other respecting the history of the infancy of Christ. For the solution of this difficulty, I assume that St Matthew, who had written the gospel in Hebrew, prepared at a later period a Greek revision (even our canonical Matthew) of it,¹ and that in so doing he availed himself of the minor compilations of those diegeses that had been used by St Luke, especially Luke x. 3—9, in which section there exists the greatest similarity.

Differently must be explained the origin of the relation existing between the Gospel of St Mark with those of St Matthew and St Luke.² For whether he has borrowed isolated portions from tradition, or from the smaller diegeses or not, yet is he in the main closely allied with St Matthew and St Luke; whenever he abandons the one he follows the other, in order to return again from the latter to the former. There is very little in the Gospel of St Mark that is not contained in the others, if we except occasional additions to some of their narratives, and two brief records of cures effected by our Redeemer. A harmony so regular cannot possibly be accidental; yet do I not venture to maintain that St Mark had *both* Gospels before him when he wrote his own. With respect to St Matthew this is not improbable, but as to St Luke it would be more proper to suppose that St Mark knew the section from chap. x. 3—9 only, in which especially this harmony takes place; so that St Mark may have been completed earlier, and consequently may have been adopted in the Gospel-collection earlier, than the *complete* Gospel of St Luke. For if St Mark had the whole Gospel of St Luke in hand, in such a case it would become inexplicable why St Mark did not likewise borrow something from the very important account of Christ's journey (Luke 9—18).³ With respect to the first chapters of St Matthew and St Luke, which contain the account of Christ's infancy, it may be said that St Mark has left them unused, because it was his intention to record only the *official ministry* of Christ.

¹ For further information on this subject, see § 4 of this introduction.

² Comp. *Saunier* über die Quellen des Marcus. Berlin 1825.—*A. Knobel* de origine evang. Marci. Wratislaviae 1831.

³ Comp., nevertheless, for further information on this subject, what is said on Luke ix. 51.

§ 4. ON THE GOSPEL OF ST MATTHEW.

Matthew, called Levi, the son of Alphaeus (Matt. ix. 9; Mark ii. 14), is mentioned in the inscription¹ as the author of the first of our four canonical Gospels, and tradition affirms that Matthew wrote a Gospel. But the question concerning the authenticity of Matthew becomes so intimately connected with the inquiry respecting the *language* in which it was written, that it is impossible to answer the one without answering the other. All the reports of the fathers of the church, who have given accounts concerning the Gospel of St Matthew (see my *Geschichte der Evangelien*, p. 19, sqq.), quite agree that St Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Syro-Chaldaic language. But with regard to the relation in which our Greek Matthew stands to the Aramaic, a mystery exists which, notwithstanding the experiments made, has up to the present moment been unexplained. Hence it is natural to suppose that the Greek Gospel is a translation of the Aramaic; yet, on a more minute examination, difficulties arise as to these views. *In the first place*, it would appear as though *Papias* (Euseb. H. E. iii. 39) contradicted the existence of a translation, since he writes concerning the Hebrew Matthew: *ἡμῆνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος*, which words may be best rendered: Every individual (by his own exertion, or by the aid of others) had to interpret the Hebrew Scriptures as well as he could, because

¹ Although the inscriptions of the Gospels are by no means necessarily to be interpreted as though intended to point out their originators, they may be considered, nevertheless, in a grammatical sense, as serving that purpose; it is only by comparing the tradition with it that this explanation at once becomes more possible. The term *κατά* may also be rendered = *secundum*, so that the meaning of the formula would be: Gospel of Jesus, according to the manner of representation by Matthew or Mark—an explanation, which would admit the assumption that there have been other writers of the Gospels. However, the general and prevailing tradition, that cannot have originated in these inscriptions, since it is spread too far and is too old, favours the rendering of the term *κατά* as referring to the writer, as this, indeed, occurs in 2 Macc. ii. 13. This form of expression for the genitive case was adopted, because the simple genitive could not properly be applicable here, since the Gospel is not the Gospel of the inspired writer, but that of Jesus Christ. As the verbal expression in use was *εὐαγγέλιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, hence it could not possibly be written *εὐαγγέλιον Ματθαίου*, or *Μάρκου*.

there existed no translation of them. We must not forget, however, that Papias, in speaking thus, refers not to his own period, but to that of John the presbyter. The passage, therefore, cannot serve as a proof, that no Greek translation of Matthew existed at the time of Papias. Our Greek Matthew, *in the second place*, exhibits traces of originality, that dispose us to doubt its being a mere translation. This is especially the case with the quotations from the Old Testament, which are given in a way so free and independent, as would not have been the case in a mere translator. This feature of the Greek text, together with the generally propagated tradition that St Matthew has written an Aramaic Gospel, and with the equally general reception by the church of this very Greek text as that of the authenticated Matthew, induces me to suppose, as it has already been observed, that St Matthew, after having composed the Aramaic Gospel, had produced likewise a Greek edition of it, or had it at least prepared under his direction. This Greek edition may be considered another revision or renewal of the Gospel, whereby the difference existing between our Matthew and that of the Jewish Christians, which had been remodelled after the Aramaic Gospel, thus becomes more explicable. The objection raised against this view: that any one would hardly have taken the pains to read the Aramaic original, if an authenticated Greek edition of the Gospel had existed (to which the statement of *Papias* leads in the above quoted passage), is sufficiently refuted by the supposition: that the Greek Matthew spread throughout the church with more slowness than the Aramaic and the other Gospels; for it was always considered as a translation, hence as being no new production, and hence too it was considered as being already contained in the earlier-spread Aramaic copy. However, with the increasing circulation of the Greek Matthew, every vestige of the Aramaic Gospel became by degrees lost, because its language rendered it inaccessible to the great portion of the people, and because its contents were to be found equally in the Greek Gospel.

The manifest view taken of the Greek Matthew in relation to the Aramaic, perfectly coincides with the *historical* data. In modern times, however, men have tried, for *internal* reasons, to deny the apostolicity of our Greek Matthew.¹ But according to

¹ *Schleiermacher, Schulz, De Wette, and Schulthess*, were the first who expressed these doubts. A refutation of them has been tried by

the nature of the thing itself, argumentations such as theirs betray something that is extremely vague. With them much, if not all, depends upon the critical feeling, but more especially upon the dogmatic perception of the critic. Hence it is that the learned vary so much in their opinions; wherever the one discovers a proof *against* the apostolic authenticity of the Gospel of St Matthew, there the other finds a testimony *in favour* of it. We cannot, therefore, ascribe any importance to results arising from internal criticism, so long as they are void of historical evidences. (For further information on this subject comp. the Programms above mentioned.)

Finally, with regard to the *place* and *time* of the composition of St Matthew, little can be said about it. The Gospel of St Matthew was written, no doubt, in Palestine, and indeed in the city of Jerusalem itself, since tradition refers us to it as the scene of the ministry of St Matthew. The circumstance, too, of the Hebrew revision of the Gospel, under the name of the *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ ἰβραϊστῶν*, having been in use especially among the Jewish Christians, leads us to suppose that it had been composed in that place, and for its inhabitants. The Greek revision, indeed, may have originated in some other place; yet all such data are wanting as to enable us to draw more exact conclusions, and it is equally as probable that St Matthew, owing to the great and extensive use of the Greek tongue in Palestine at the time of the apostles, re-edited his Gospel in the Greek language, for the Greeks dwelling in that place. The supposition of the Greek Matthew having originated in any other country, would always become impracticable, in consequence of the absence of explanatory additions respecting the localities and usages of Palestine, such as we find them in St Mark and St Luke, which in this case would have been equally as

Heidenreich in *Winer's* theol. Journ., vol. 3, part 2. They were followed by *Sieffert* (Königsberg 1832), *Klener* (Göttingen 1832), *Schneckenburger* (Stuttgart 1834). Compare likewise *Schleiermacher's* Abhandlung über das Zeugniß des Papias (Stud. and Krit. Jahrg. 1832. Pt. 4), and *Strauss's* Review in the Berl. Jahrb. 1834. No. 91, &c. *Kern* (Tübingen 1834) defended the authenticity of Matthew against these attacks, yet does he approach the views of *Sieffert* and *Klener*; he moreover supposes the original work to have been retouched, and supplied with spurious additions, only he admits fewer of them. I have expressed my opinion respecting these writings and their argumentation more explicitly in the "Erlanger Oster-Programm" for the year 1835, and in the "Weihnacht's-Programm" of 1836. With regard to *Sieffert's* publication, comp. my Review in *Tholuck's* Lit. Anz. Jahrg. 1833. No. 14, &c.

necessary for St Matthew.—With regard to the *period* in which it was composed, all positive accounts are entirely wanting; however, the remark, made by *Irenaeus* (adv. haer. iii. 1), that it was written during the period of St Peter's and St Paul's preaching at Rome, may approach very near the truth. According to St Matthew xxiv., the Gospel was certainly composed *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, since we find its accomplishment foretold at some not very distant period; we can, therefore, hardly err if we assume the period of its composition to be between the years 60—70 after Christ.

Finally, in order to make a few remarks respecting the *peculiarity* of St Matthew, this, as has already been observed, becomes evident, in so much as Matthew endeavours to prove to the Jewish readers, that Jesus is the Messiah predicted by the prophets. His earnest appeal to Jewish readers appears evident from the beginning, since the genealogy of Jesus is traced only as far as Abraham, and this, moreover, is perceptible in several distinct and express declarations, (Mat. x. 6, xv. 24); again, in the evident supposition, that whatever relates to the Mosaic law, to Jewish usages and localities, is previously known. Next to this, the peculiarity of St Matthew shows also itself inasmuch as every thing relating to external form appears to him to be matter of less consequence, and of less consideration. St Matthew has presented the life of Christ under general aspects or points of view. At one time he describes him as a new law-giver, and at another as a performer of miracles, and then again as a teacher. The character of the Redeemer he shows in discourses formed partly of the elements of lectures, which appear to have been delivered at various periods.¹ These discourses, as ch. 5—7, 10, 11, 13, 18, 23, 24, 25, are connected by means of historical introductions, but which, with this evangelist (as generally with St John), are in themselves of no importance; and hence it is that St Matthew has devoted less attention to them than to the compilation of the discourses. The writing of St Matthew, considered as a whole,

¹ Schlichthorst (über das Verhältniss der drei synoptischen Evangelien, und über den Charakter des Mt. insbesondere. Göttingen, 1835,) endeavours to establish too minute a relation in the several portions of St Matthew to one another. Many of his references, it is true, are not without foundation; yet most of these references are undesigned, having originated with the spirit of the life of Jesus and its harmony, but not with the reflection of the author.

presents him to our view in a manner not to be mistaken as a person wholly penetrated by the grandeur of Christ's manifestation; yet do we perceive that he wanted that vastness of susceptibility and spiritual delicacy which we so much admire in St John, although St Matthew, in his turn, surpasses St Mark in fervour. The Christ of St Matthew, truly, is by no means a Messiah according to the vulgar notions of the Jewish nation; on the contrary, the representation made of him by St Matthew appears distinctly antagonist with the false notions which the Jews entertained concerning the Messiah; yet the Son of God, whom St Matthew, together with the rest of the Apostles, naturally acknowledged in Jesus, presents himself to us, after all, according to St Matthew's conceptions, in a Jewish aspect, whereas we behold him, as represented by St John, clad in a garment of heavenly light, so that the form in which the disciple of love introduces the Son of love is as glorified as the holy person itself that is contained within it. As this cannot be said of St Matthew, the ancients were not altogether wrong in terming his Gospel *σωματικόν*, and that of St John *πνευματικόν*, a name, which does not intimate that the Gospel of St Matthew was other than apostolical, but as the *λόγος* appeared in the Redeemer in a *σῶμα*, so it was in like manner *necessary*, that whatever was national and temporal in his appearance should be rendered prominent and vivid, both in every presentable aspect of the life of Christ, and in the conception of the spiritual portion of it.

§ 5. ON THE GOSPEL OF ST MARK.

John Mark, frequently called Mark only, was the son of a certain Mary (Acts xii. 12,) who possessed a house in Jerusalem, wherein the apostles frequently assembled. He is known in the New Testament as the companion of Paul, (Acts xii. 25; xiii. 5; xv. 36, &c.) Even during the imprisonment of the apostle at Rome, we behold him in his company (Col. iv. 10; Philem. v. 24), and supposing a second imprisonment of Paul at Rome, we then shall find him associated with him even to the end of his life (2 Tim. iv. 11). The account given by the fathers of the church seems to a certain extent contradictory to this; according to the former, Mark appears in the company of Peter, of which there is only one trace in the New Testament (1 Pet. v.

13), which must be always considered, nevertheless, on such a point, as rather incidental than designed. However, the accounts given by the fathers of the church may be reconciled with the statements of the New Testament, if we assume that Mark, owing to the unhappy circumstances which occurred between Paul, Barnabas, and himself (Acts xv. 37, &c.), joined Peter *for a time*; on this point the New Testament is silent, because Peter herein appears in a character inferior to that of Paul. At a later period, however, after the former relation had been re-established between Paul and Mark, and Peter moreover, conjointly laboured with Paul at Rome, Mark appears once more in connexion with Paul. But with the account of the connexion of Mark and Peter, which is given in too exact a manner to lead us to doubt its veracity, the fathers inform us at the same time (comp. Euseb. H. E. iii. 39; v. 8; vi. 25. Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 5), that Peter confirmed the Gospel written by his hermeneutic Mark. That the fathers do not quite agree in the additional circumstances under which they give it, can form no ground why the main report should be doubted, since such an occurrence only, can enable us to comprehend the otherwise highly remarkable fact of the Gospel of Mark having been recognised by the church without any contradiction whatever. The authority of this apostolic companion was indeed too insignificant, and his previous relation to the Lord too problematical, for men to have relied upon his personality only when his account of the life of Christ was adopted in the canon. Had it originated at a later period, of course a name more distinguished would have been placed at the head of this work. Had history, therefore, furnished us with no information on this head, we must have been led to a similar supposition, from the fact of the adoption of Mark into the canon. The authority of Peter, with which the Gospel of St Mark was favourably associated, is in fact that which alone explains how individuals of the ancient church could hit upon the notion of using pre-eminently this Gospel, as we find it stated by *Irenaeus* (iii. 11) to have been so used. The nature of the Gospel itself could not possibly have prompted them to it, since it is possessed of too little that is peculiar in it, in order thereby to have secured their preference; but we may well assume that the disciples or followers of Peter, considering the connexion existing between Mark and their teacher, used exclusively this Gospel, in the same manner as the followers of Paul used that

of St Luke. But whether St Mark experienced at the hands of the Christian followers of St Peter a corruption, similar to that which St Luke sustained from the *ultras* of the followers of St Paul (the Marcionites) and St Matthew from the Jewish Christians, is doubtful. We know the *εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους* too little, to be able to state anything certain respecting the relation existing between that and the Gospel of St Peter.¹ With regard to the *time* and *place* in which the composition of St Mark took place, as little can be said with certainty and correctness as in the case of St Matthew. Here also we must dwell upon one circumstance, viz. that it was written *previous* to the destruction of Jerusalem (Mark xiii. 14, &c.) From its relation to St Matthew we may infer, nevertheless, with much probability that it is of a later origin than the Gospel of that Apostle. We shall be nearer the truth in supposing that St Mark wrote his Gospel a few years previous to the destruction of Jerusalem. Concerning the place in which it was written, tradition wavers between Alexandria and Rome. The Latin terms, however, which St Mark has adopted from time to time in his composition speak in favour of the latter city; and as it originated, at all events, in one of the central parts of the ancient Christian church² (a circumstance to which, among others, must be attributed the rapid propagation of the Gospel), and as the history of St Mark, moreover, is not at variance with the opinion entertained of its having been written at Rome, so we may claim for it the preference.

Throughout the Gospel of St Mark, we do not meet with anything like a clear expression of a positive *character* on this point. But we soon perceive that St Mark did *not* write specially for Jewish readers, since he is minute in his explanations respecting the Jewish rites and customs (see Mark vii. 34); but with which of

¹ In *my* Gesch. der Evang. p. 97, sqq. I have refuted in a most decided manner the possibility of a connection among the Gospels of the Egyptians, of St Peter, and of St Mark. According to the general analogy, it is very probable that St Mark, too, may have experienced corruptions, and it is very likely, that one of the writings belonging to the cycle of the Apocrypha of St Peter may have been a corrupted Gospel of St Mark. (*Schneckenburger* [über das Evang. der Aegyptier. Bern 1834] considers it as a work related to the *εὐαγγέλιον κατ' ἑβραίους*, and as having been in use among the Ebionites). According to the Gospel of St John published by *Münter* (Kopenhagen 1828), it has experienced, although only at a later period, many corruptions at the hands of the Gnostics. (Comp. *Ullmann* in the *Studien Jahrg.* i. part 4, p. 818, sqq.)

² Comp. *my* Gesch. der Evangelien, p. 440.

the ancient churches he was especially associated, is not so clear. The Latinisms which we meet with in St Mark are not sufficient in themselves to attribute to the Gospel a Roman character. We should rather consider the characteristic features in St Mark as a proof of the evident carefulness which he has employed in perspicuity of statement. For there is, in the Roman national character, a dexterity in all practical things that cannot be mistaken, and this is reflected in some degree in St Mark. This Evangelist displays an aptness in representing events in a picturesque manner, and in carrying with him, as it were, his readers to the very scene of action. (Comp. particularly Mark v. 1—20, 22—43; vi. 17—29; ix. 14, &c., with the parallels belonging thereto; furthermore Mark vii. 32—37; viii. 22—26, which he has only.) This perspicuity we find predominant in his description of the cures, and among these mostly in the cures of some individuals possessed of devils (Mark v. 1, &c., ix. 14, &c.); in the conception of the *internal* part of the life of Jesus, especially of his discourses, St Mark falls short in a remarkable manner. Therefore we can by no means consider the perspicuity of representation of St Mark such a talent as to place him above St Matthew. It appears, at the same time, as though St Mark intended to place before the eyes of his readers a graphic picture of the official ministry of Jesus, whence he begins his narrative simply with the baptism of Christ.

§ 6. ON THE GOSPEL OF ST LUKE.

The person to whom tradition attributes the third Gospel is *St Luke*, the well-known companion of the Apostle Paul, as mentioned in sacred history. His name is the abbreviated form of Lucanus, as Alexas is that of Alexander, and Cleopas that of Cleopatros. That he was a physician is, according to Col. iv. 14, beyond a doubt, and the statement of the fathers of the church, that he came from Antioch, contains nothing improbable. He was a Gentile by birth, which is testified even in Col. iv. 14, comp. with v. 11; and this is confirmed by the apparent design of his work. For, as St Matthew had evidently Jewish Christians in view, so had St Luke the Gentile Christians. To write for these he may have been induced by a sentiment of national fellowship which he cherished for them, as also by the

example of the Gentile Apostle, which produced an influence on the special adaptation of his Gospel. According to the tradition of the fathers of the church (Euseb. h. e. iii. 4, v. 8, vi. 25. Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 5), St Paul, too, is said to have exercised a corroborating influence on the Gospel of St Luke similar to that of St Peter on the Gospel of St Mark—an hypothesis confirmed both by the rapid propagation of the work and by its general adoption by the ancient church. But more than all does the internal peculiarity of the Gospel lead to the inference that it was the result of the supervision of St Paul, and that, on this ground, it was included as such in the Gospel collection. The *universal character* of the Gospel appears in the tracing back of the genealogy of Jesus as far as Adam, whereas St Matthew goes no farther back than to Abraham, the ancestor of the Jews; and further, in the description of the mission of the seventy disciples as the representatives of all the nations, whereas St Matthew has only twelve Apostles, who are the representatives of the twelve tribes; also in the avoiding of all topics which seem to express something peculiar to the Jews. It may be said, therefore, that if St Matthew represents Jesus as the *Jewish Messiah*, St Luke, on the contrary, represents him as the *Gentile one*, i.e. as the one in whose person all the most sublime presentiments of the Gentile world had become realised, and who had made them the object of his ministry. With regard to the manner of representation, St Luke has the peculiar power of exhibiting with great clearness of conception and truth (especially in the long account of Christ's journey, from ix. 51, xviii. 14), not so much the *discourses* of Jesus as his *conversations*, with all the incidents that gave rise to them, with the interlocutions of those that were present, and with their final issues; so that, accordingly, every one of the Evangelists, so far as his characteristic style is concerned, conducts us to the contemplation of the Redeemer in a different point of view. Hence it was, according to the nature of circumstances, that the ultra-Paulites (as such we must consider the Marcionites) preferred, before all others, this Gospel, in which their own views were expressed in a peculiarly distinct manner, and endeavoured to omit as Jewish additions all those things which did not agree with their exaggerated or misconceived Pauline notions of the law and the Gospel.¹

¹ That the Gospel of Marcion is a corrupt version of St Luke, has been

With regard to the determination of the *time* and *place* in which the Gospel of St Luke was written, *Theophilus*, the person to whom the Gospel is addressed, may serve us in some respect as a guide. It would seem as though he was a man of rank (Luke i. 3), and that he had lived in Italy. For we observe that the Evangelist, whenever he treats of Oriental subjects, adds explanations, especially descriptions of places, even though they were localities well-known; these, however, we do not meet with when he is speaking even of the most insignificant places in Italy, thus presuming in his readers an exact acquaintance with that country. It is therefore most probable that Rome was the place wherein this Gospel was written, to which inference we are especially led by the concluding portion of the Acts of the Apostles, which is the second part of his work. For instance, it breaks off, without any formal conclusion, with the second year of St Paul's captivity at Rome; and as St Luke had been associated with St Paul during this captivity, this circumstance again inclines us to regard Rome as the place where most probably it was written. Moreover, as nothing has been added concerning the issue of the case of St Paul, there remains little obscurity respecting the *time* in which this Gospel was composed: it must have been written a short time previous to the Acts of the Apostles, during the captivity of St Paul at Rome, about the year 64 after Christ. That a considerable interval should have occurred between the writing of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles is not likely, because both writings are so closely connected in the facts they relate, and moreover the acquaintance of St Luke with Theophilus was in all probability the result of his sojourn at Rome. *De Wette* (Einl. in's N. T. p. 132) infers, it is true, from passages such as Luke xxi. 17, &c., that this Gospel must have been composed *after* the destruction of Jerusalem; but our remarks on Matthew xxiv. 15 we think clearly show that this inference is untenable.

proved in a convincing manner by Hahn, in his well-known work: *Das Evangelium Marcions*, &c. Königsberg 1823.—Comp. *my* work on the Gospels, p. 106, sqq. The remarks made by *Schulz* (in *Ullmann's Studien*, vol. ii. pt. 3) in opposition to this are as yet without confirmation.

§ 7. OF THE HARMONY OF THE GOSPEL-HISTORY.

It is too characteristic of human nature to seek on all occasions for connection and unity, and to such a degree as not to leave untried the experiment of forming one connected account of the Redeemer's life based upon the four Gospels. For practical uses, and for the sake of obtaining an easier survey of all the characteristic features in the life of our Lord, such an effort is most appropriate; and therefore we are not surprised at finding that experiments were made even during the earliest periods—such, for instance, as those of *Tatian*,¹ *Ammonius*, *Eusebius*—to connect the several accounts given by the Evangelists into a complete narrative.

Strictly and scientifically, however, the narrations of the Gospels cannot be safely united into a whole. The difficulties in constructing an Evangelical harmony must be sought for in the fact that many Evangelists, whilst composing their works, never thought of stating the *events* according to the succession of time in which they occurred. They begin, it is true, with the history of the birth of the Redeemer, and conclude with the narrations of his death, as it cannot be otherwise in biographical statements; yet the main mass, properly speaking, of the Gospel-history, the description of the official ministry of Jesus, is treated in such a manner as to discover nowhere the design to preserve a fixed chronological order in the facts related. In *Matthew*, in the first place, from the history of the temptation (Mat. iv.) to the last journey to Jerusalem (Mat. xx. 17), no decidedly fixed date whatever is given which might lead to the arrangement of the subject. The Evangelist, without stating the date, generally proceeds from one event to the other (iv. 12, 18, 23; viii. 5, 18, 23, 28; ix. 1, 9, 35); or he makes use of a vague *et cetera* as a means of connection (iii. 13; iv. 1; ix. 14; xi. 20; xii.

¹ I have termed in *my* *Gesch. der Evangelien* p. 335, sqq. the work of *Tatian* a Harmony of the Gospels; but the zeal with which *Theodoret* had it destroyed in the fifth century, implies that strong heretical corruptions were contained in it. *Tatian*, no doubt, made a compilation from the whole of the gospel-collection, such as suited his purposes, and even went so far as to make important alterations in the text, which his followers most likely multiplied still further. (On other Harmonies comp. § 9 of the introd.)

22, 38; xv. 1), or he connects the single narrations by means of the diffuse formulae *iv ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις* (iii. 1; xiii. 1), *iv ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ* (xiv. 1), *iv ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ* (xviii. 1). We meet very seldom with fixed dates, as Mat. xvii. 1, *μὲν ἡμέρας ἕξ*. The great collections of discourses in Matthew show that it was his chief aim to represent the person of Jesus independent of place and time, and to bring him before the mind of his readers in the various periods and progress of his ministry by means of a chain of actions and discourses related to one another. In *St Mark* this negligence of time and place is more striking still; with him are especially wanting everything like recognised fixedness of time. He generally gives the account without remark, only endeavouring clearly to represent the facts themselves, without connecting them by any defined system. *St Luke* appears, without doubt, to be more exact in chronological arrangement, so that we might almost hope to find through him a fixed series and succession of events as they actually occurred. Even in Luke i. 3 the term *καθεξῆς* (see the exposition of the passage) seems to point to a chronological succession; in iii. 1 follows again a very important determination with regard to the chronology of the life of Jesus, and at iii. 23 he observes that the Redeemer was thirty years old when he entered on his ministry. Yet, in the course of the Gospel, we perceive a vagueness in the succession of the events similar to the others; *St Luke*, moreover, mostly connects his narrations with one another without any mention of date (iv. 16, 31; v. 12, 33; vii. 18, 36; viii. 26; ix. 1, 18), and often the indefinite transactions *μετὰ ταῦτα* (v. 27), *iv μετὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν* (v. 17; viii. 22), and others change, so that frequently it even seems uncertain whether the events mentioned in *St Luke* are the only ones related in chronological order; but at all events, though this may remain probable, an arrangement through *Luke* of the events that have occurred in the life of Jesus is, on the whole, impracticable, because we can trace no safe point of connection with the other Gospels in the mass of records from the baptism of Jesus to the last journey of our Lord to keep the passover (Mat. xx. 17; Mark x. 32; Luke xviii. 31); for from the latter there is less deficiency of chronological dates. We might expect to find such a point in the account given of the transfiguration, since all the three Evangelists (Mat. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2; Luke ix. 20) connect it with the preceding by means of a *μὲν ἡμέρας ἕξ* (the *ὁπτῶν ἡμερῶν* is with *Luke* only an-

other mode of calculating the same relation of time); yet, if we attempt to arrange the events from this point, by tracing them to their earliest date, the thread is soon lost again. But if even in the events we find an impossibility of connecting the statements of the Evangelists in a well-arranged whole, this is yet more palpable in the *discourses*. What appears in St Matthew as being interlocutory (Mat. v. 7, 10, 13, 23, and elsewhere) is given by St Luke quite disjointedly, so that we find ourselves utterly unable to restore the various elements of the discourses of Jesus to their pristine chronological connection, if the compilation is to serve practical purposes, as well as to lay claim to scientific arrangement.

St John, therefore, remains the only one whose careful chronological order arrests our attention, and who appears likely to help us in arranging at least the main events recorded in the three other Gospels. For even if in St John a vague *μὲν ἂν αὐτὰ* occur (as iii. 22; vi. 1; vii. 1, &c.), yet he is generally very minute in stating whether one day (i. 29, 35, 44; vi. 22; xii. 12), or two (iv. 40, 43), or three (ii. 1), or more days intervened between each of the events recorded. The discourses, too, mentioned in St John, so closely join the events recorded, and are so complete in themselves, that they are in chronological keeping throughout. What forms the main point, however, is, that St John allows longer intervals in the life of our Lord, within which we may attempt to introduce the isolated occurrences. Besides the mention he makes of the last passover (xiii. 1), which is noticed likewise by the Synoptics, he speaks *definitely* of another passover at which Jesus was present (ii. 13); and between these two fixed points at the beginning and end of the ministry of Jesus, St John mentions two other feasts which were celebrated by the Redeemer in Jerusalem—the feast of the consecration of the temple (x. 22), and the feast of tabernacles (vii. 2). Moreover, in v. 1 another feast is mentioned, the nature of which, however, remains undefined. If we had the records of the three first Evangelists only, we should know nothing positive respecting these journeys of Christ to the feasts; we could only conceive them probable by supposing that Christ would certainly not have neglected to keep the commandment of the Old Testament (Lev. xxiii. 17) to go and celebrate at Jerusalem the three high festivals, as we find him in other circumstances so careful of the observances of the law. Yet how many such journeys he made during his

ministry is not clear even in St John; hence it still remains obscure in what relation the events stand to the chronology of the ministry of Jesus. Whatever St John narrates occurred, no doubt, in the order in which he narrates it; but as to the period which his statements embrace, whether one, two, or more years, is uncertain. We cannot prove, in the first place, that St John has *not* omitted any of the journeys of Jesus to the feasts; and again, the vagueness of the passage v. 1 renders the whole chronology of St John uncertain,¹ for whatever may be said in favour of the opinion that the feast therein mentioned is a passover,² this cannot be considered as a certain fact, especially as in vi. 4 mention is again made of the near approach of a passover; for to suppose with Dr Paulus (see the "Rückblick" mentioned in the note below) that the term *ἡγία* refers to the past passover, will always be hazardous. Therefore whether, according to the statement of St John, Jesus celebrated in Jerusalem three or four passovers cannot be ascertained with certainty;³ that it must be much more difficult to apply the notices of St John concerning these journeys of Jesus to the arrangement of the historical matter of the other Evangelists, is indeed sufficiently evident from the one simple circumstance, that so few of the statements which St John makes concerning the life of Jesus are mentioned at all by the other Evangelists, as can enable us to arrive at any point of connection between the latter and St John. The miracle the loaves (John vi. 1—15) and the walking on the sea (vi. 16—21), which he connects with the former, are alone in parallelism with the other three Evangelists (see Mat. xiv. 13, sqq.; Mark vi. 30, sqq.; Luke ix. 10, sqq.); and although both St Matthew and St Mark, like St John, connect these two events, yet we can infer nothing of general importance, partly, because the

¹ *Kaiser* (in his *Synopsis*, Nürnberg. 1826) is of opinion that the feast here spoken of was the feast of tabernacles. Comp. the comment. to this passage.

² Comp. the *Chronologischen Rückblick* at the end of the first volume of Dr *Paulus's* commentary to the Gospels.

³ Concerning the difficulties of St John's chronology, we should also compare the passage x. 22, in which we are so led by him to the feast of dedication, as to be wholly uncertain how the presence of Jesus at this feast agrees with his presence at the feast of tabernacles (vii. 2), since no mention is made either of his departure or of his stay. It might even be confounded with the feast of dedication of another year, did not the discourse following (x. 27, 28) point in too clear a manner to what precedes (x. 12, 13).

connection of the events cannot be continued on positive grounds, and partly, because the time of the miraculous feeding is even in St John uncertain, on account of the vagueness of expression in v. 1 and vi. 4.¹ Whether anything relates to the beginning or to the end of the public ministry of Jesus, is sufficiently evident, partly, from the position in the Gospels, partly also, from the internal character of the narratives; but to connect precisely and chronologically all the single events which are recorded of our Redeemer, as also his discourses, this, the form of narrative adopted by the Evangelists, who are generally vague in point of time and place, does not allow. We receive, therefore, the Gospel history as it is delivered to us, following the chronological progress as far as the clearness of the Evangelists permits us to trace it, but never endeavouring to obtain it forcibly and determinately wherever it is not definitely stated. According to the synopsis of *De Wette* and *Lücke*, which we have laid down as the basis in the course of our exposition, we shall here treat first of the history of the infancy of Jesus and of his baptism, and afterwards the representation of his sufferings, resurrection, and ascension (combining these latter incidents with the description of St John); but in treating the intervening mass of Evangelical records, we shall follow St Matthew. Those portions which are found only in St Mark and St Luke, or which belong to one of them, we shall interweave with the narrative of St Matthew wherever it will appear to us most practicable. The editors, indeed, of the Synopsis have so treated this section as to repeat the entire substance three times, according to the order of St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke. A threefold exegetical examination of this portion would certainly afford no small advantage; but such an enterprise would require too much time.

§ 8. ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPEL-HISTORY.

The description given of the origin of the Gospels from single

¹ This too is the opinion of *Lücke*, as expressed in his *Comment. über den Johannes*, vol. i. p. 526. "How a chronological arrangement can be effected between those portions of the events rendered prominent by John, and that related by the three first evangelists in the (middle) period indicated, is an unsolved problem of historical criticism." (Comp. in the same place the remarks, p. 614, 615.)

essays, the authors of which we are unable to name, further the character of the Gospel-history itself, in consequence of which, through a large portion of it, no chronological order of the events can be effected, and, finally, the express discrepancies which we find in many of the events, but especially in the discourses; all this seems to endanger the authenticity of the Gospel-history, particularly in such events as were beyond the experience of any of the writers, as for example, the history of the infancy of Jesus. The Gospels, accordingly, seem to acquire the appearance of an unarranged aggregate of insulated vague memoirs, which neither harmonise exactly with one another, nor are very closely connected even in separate Evangelists. The ancients feared a complete destruction of the sacred character of the Gospel-history as a consequence of such a conception as prevails in modern criticism. Assuming a *literal* inspiration¹ of the sacred writers, men endeavoured to establish a harmony by force, and to smooth down all discrepancies of words or things; but owing to the structure of the Gospels this proceeding necessarily led to the greatest caprice. Wherever a difference became apparent in the events, as well as in the discourses, the event or discourse had to be doubled, sometimes to be tripled. Hence, by laying down the rule that the Gospel-history must agree in all things external and non-essential, weapons were placed in the hands of the enemies of the Word of God; the evident disagreement has been used by men as a ground for denying the divine character of the Scriptures. Therefore, the right way

¹ I distinguish the *literal* from the *verbal* inspiration, and maintain the latter whilst I deny the former. The distinction is, in my opinion, based not so much upon the contrast of essence and form (for the form too is in one sense essential), as upon the *essential* and the *un-essential* form. The question, however, where does that which is essential in the form separate from the essential itself, or what is *word*, and what is *letter*? will, with reference to a given passage, never be so answered as to satisfy *all parties*, because the individual turn of mind exercises too great an influence upon each man's view. On the whole, however, all those who agree in principle, will likewise be able to agree in this canon. *The form of the Scripture, if connected with the quintessence of the doctrine, must be considered as essential, hence it has reference likewise to the inspiration; and only where such a connection has no existence, must the form be considered as unessential.* Comp. moreover Tholuck's excellent Treatise on the Contradictions of the Gospels, contained in his work: "Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Geschichte gegen Strauss," (Hamb. 1837. p. 429, sqq.) which preserves indeed properly the *via media*.

here is to keep to the truth, plainly to acknowledge the evident fact of discrepancies in the Gospel-history, and seek to reconcile these, only where a simple method, neither artificial nor constrained, offers itself. The *external* harmony of the Gospel-history can as little be deemed a proof of its divinity, as would be the case when speaking of the formations of nature. As, in the latter, exact regularity is combined with the greatest degree of freedom, so in the Gospel-history perfect harmony in all that is *essential* is found with the highest degree of freedom in the treatment of whatever is *unessential*.¹ The authenticity of the Gospel-history rests safest only upon the identity of the element of life in which each Evangelist separately moved, and to which the whole new community belonged, of which the Evangelists only were members; this element of life was the Spirit "which leadeth into all truth." But this Spirit that animated the Evangelists and the whole host of the Apostles, neither exempted them from the ordinary means of historical research, such as from the use of family records or narratives of single events, nor did it remove their peculiarities and use them as instruments without sympathy; on the contrary, it transformed their individual capacities and powers, and bestowed on them an infallible sagacity to separate all things erroneous from matters of faith and from essential points of record, so as to perceive with precision all that was real and suitable, and to connect it by a profounder principle of arrangement. If the Evangelists, therefore, sometimes put together the constituent parts of our Lord's discourses differently from what they were when first delivered, still the meaning of them was not altered, although modified. As the living word (which the Lord himself was) operated on the Evangelists, and animated them, it produced in each of them a new spiritual whole, in which the dismembered parts reappear in harmonious connection.

This view taken of the Scripture, of its essential unity, and of its unessential disparity, withdraws us as much from the superstitious worship of the *dead letter*, as it leads us to the inquiry into the *living spirit*; but it keeps itself aloof from that empty spirituality which imagines itself able to dispense with

¹ A literal agreement of the Gospels would have afforded to the enemies of truth an opportunity to accuse the authors of a fraudulent propagation; such as it is, it appears divine and human at one and the same time.

the external *word*, and which thus runs the risk of interpreting its empty dreams as essential ideas of truth. Although, therefore, Providence has willed that external marks should not be wanting to prove the authenticity of the Gospels, yet He has not granted us demonstratively to prove the authenticity of the events recorded in the Gospels. Points have been left to excite doubt and suspicion, and through them it is that it accomplishes a part of its destination; since the Christ written, as well as the Christ personally ministering on earth, is set for the *fall* of many, (Luke ii. 34). With every reader of the Gospel history, therefore, susceptibility of the spirit of truth is presupposed. Wherever this exists, the Gospel-history becomes established in its peculiar character, and with triumphant power. For although it partakes of an historical and biographical character, yet in its treatment of its subject it is not, any more than the subject itself, to be compared with other works of the kind. The Evangelists write with a child-like innocence and frankness, and at the same time with a sublime simplicity of heart, so as to form a combination not to be found under other circumstances. Their individuality remains entirely in the background; they record without reflection, without any breaking forth in terms of praise, or blame, or admiration, even when describing the most sublime occurrences. They appear to be absorbed, as it were, in the contemplation of the great picture which had been displayed before them, and, forgetting themselves, they re-produce the phenomenon in its pure state of truth. The Gospel-history, therefore, bears witness of itself and of its authenticity, in no other manner than does the Lord himself. He has no other witness but himself and the Father, (John viii. 18). In this manner (as in holy writ in general) the Gospel-history testifies of itself, by the Spirit of God dwelling within it. Whosoever is of the truth heareth his voice.

It is only where this Spirit of God has not as yet manifested his power, that the notion may spring up, that the history of Christ is parallel with all other biographies of great men, and that whatever is marvellous in it, as well as in the former, must be regarded as a fable. The want of internal individual experience of the regenerating power of Christ—the want of the testimony of the Holy Ghost, which alone vouchsafes the certainty of the divinity of the Scriptures, has ever formed a stumbling-block in the way of belief in the wondrous garment enveloping the per-

son of our Lord. In ancient times this stumbling-block assumed the form of a hostile position against the church; it was reserved for modern times only to behold it playing antics, under the guise of advance in Christian science. This took place first in the so-called *natural* exposition, whose doom, however, has been proclaimed long ago by its own innate *unnaturalness*; it requires, therefore, no further refutation. Next, especially from the time of *Gabler*, in the form of the mythical exposition, which, since Strauss has carried it to its extreme, is hastening to self-destruction. The inapplicability of the mythical exposition to the life of Jesus, follows irrefutably: firstly, *From the early date of the sources*, namely, of the four canonical Gospels, the authenticity and age of which may be proved satisfactorily on external and internal grounds. So long as the eye-witnesses of the wondrous events of the life of Jesus lived, *mythos* could have nothing to do with it; there could be no formation of undesigned poetical tales, but only productions of enthusiasm and of fraud. Secondly, The inapplicability of the mythical exposition to the gospel, follows *from the acknowledged authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistles of St Paul, as also of many other main writings of the New Testament*. Down to the present time no one has ventured as yet to deny the authenticity of the main Epistles of St Paul and St John, and yet they quite contain the view of the person of Christ which forms the foundation of the four Gospels; hence it appears as being the very first Christian view. If the mythical exposition is to be maintained, nothing remains but to declare the Apostle Paul to be either an enthusiast, or an impostor; thirdly, *The origin of the Christian Church, the continuity of consciousness in her, the purity of spirit that was in her particularly powerful and active, especially during the first centuries*, nowise permits us to think of a mere beautiful imagination as the ultimate ground of these phenomena. That a church should have been formed of Jews and Gentiles, who worshipped a crucified Son of God, is, according to the mythical conception of the life of Jesus, a far greater wonder than all those that are thereby to give way; the fact of the Christian church becomes intelligible only from the statements made by the Evangelists. As, moreover, there was no chasm in the consciousness of the church, which now began to spread all over the world, and as an unheard-of spirit of moral purity animated her, especially during the earliest period, no room appears to be left for the

formation of the pretended *mythos*. Room for them can be gained only on the unscientific presumption, that we have received no records from the first century of Christianity. The mythical conception appears, accordingly, as an undecided half measure; the resolute anti-christian spirit will declare Christianity, together with the whole of the sacred writings, to be a work of enthusiasm and imposition.

§ 9. SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE.

As soon as the church found the want of the personal labours of the Apostles, who had acted peculiarly by the living word, recourse was had to the written bequests which the Apostles had left to her, in order, through the contemplation of the written word, partly that she might confirm her members in the truth which they had received, and partly that she might, according to this word, separate truth from error. Ever since the second century, therefore, many distinguished men have devoted their powers to the exposition of the sacred writings in general, and to the New Testament in particular; however, their contents are nevertheless as yet unexhausted. The depth of the word of God is so great, that it affords at all times, and under all circumstances, to every degree of culture and development, full satisfaction. It accords, nevertheless, with the nature of the development of the church, that by a gradual progress men should learn to enter more deeply and more thoroughly into an understanding of the Scriptures. In our times, particularly, an immense progress has been made, in so much that men, perceiving more and more the comprehensive sense of holy writ, have learnt to regard the greater portion of the various expositions not so much as absolutely erroneous, but as one-sided only. Hereby, the endeavours of centuries to understand the Scriptures appear as connected with one another, and as completing each other; whilst, according to the opinions which formerly prevailed, men were obliged to consider the various expositions to be, with the exception of the *one* correct, a heap of errors. According to this, the church of the earlier centuries must not have understood in a great measure the Scriptures at all, which would amount in other words to this, namely, that the Spirit did not dwell in the church. On the contrary, we ought to say, that the

church always understood the Bible essentially, but that men have gradually entered into a deeper understanding of it.

First of all, it must be observed that, with regard to the *general works* which embrace the whole New Testament, we have no *complete* exposition of the New Testament from any of the earlier fathers of the church. Men at first commented only on a few single writings. It was only in the ninth century that there appeared the *Glossa Ordinaria* by *Walafrid Strabo*, forming a running commentary on the New Testament (if this production deserves the name of a commentary). After him *Nicolas de Lyra*, and *Alphonsus Tostatus*, bishop of Avila in Spain, wrote complete commentaries on all the sacred writings; the latter wrote twenty-three folio volumes. At the time of the Reformation, *Calvin* commented on the New Testament, with the exception of the Revelation of John; which was the case likewise among the Lutherans by *Johann Brenz*, seven folio volumes of whose works contain expositions of almost all the writings of the Bible. In the seventeenth century there appeared also several works embracing the whole New Testament. Besides *Hugo Grotius* (in his *Adnotationes* in N. Testament. 2 vols. 4to) are specially to be mentioned the collection of expositions known as: *Critici Sacri* (London 1660. 9 vols. fol.), from which an extract was prepared by *Polus*. Further, *Calovii Biblia Illustrata* (Francof. 1672. 4 vols. fol.), a work directed against Grotius, which embraces his exegetical works.—To this was added, at a later period, *Pfaff's* Biblical Work. Tübingen 1729.—*Wolfii Curæ philologicae et criticae*. Hamb. 1738. 4 vols. 4to.—*Heumann's* Erklärung des N. T. Hannover, 1750. 12 vols. 8vo.—*Moldenhauer's* Erklärung der Schriften des N. T. Leipz. 1763. 4 vols. 4to.—*J. D. Michaelis's* Translation of the New Testament, with Notes. Goett. 1789. 3 vols. 4to.—*Bengelii* Gnomon N. T. Tubingae 1773. 4.—*J. G. Rosenmüllerii* Scholia in N. T. Norimbergae 1777. 5 vols. 8vo. The last (sixth) edition appeared 1825. A complete commentary on the New Testament was to have been produced by *Henneberg*; but the first volume only appeared, containing Matthew (Gotha and Erfurt, 1829). The author died in 1831. *H. A. W. Meyer* also has begun to edit a commentary on the New Testament, of which there have appeared up to this moment four volumes, containing the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans. Of *De Wette's* exposition of the New Testament have come to light the

Epistle to the Romans, and the Synoptics. To the general works on the New Testament belong also the known *Observationen-Sammlungen* (i. e. Collections of Observations) by *Raphelius* (from Xenophon, Hamb. 1720; from Polybius and Arrian, Hamb. 1715; from Herodotus, Lüneb. 1731), *Alberti* (Leiden 1725), *Kypke* (Breslau 1752), *Elsner* (Utrecht 1728), *Palairret* (Leiden 1752).

But next, with respect to the Gospels *collectively*,¹ the exposition of *Theophylact* and *Euthymius Zigabenus* have been preserved. The ancient exposition of the four Gospels, said to have been written by *Theophilus of Antioch*, has been lost. Among the works of the period of the Reformation stands pre-eminent: *Mart. Chemnitzii harmonia quatuor evangeliorum*, continued by *Polycarpus Lyser* and *Johann Gerhard* (Hamb. 1704. 3 vols. fol.). A similar Harmony was also composed by *Clericus* (Amsterd. 1699 fol.) In modern times, *Köcheri Analecta* (Altenb. 1766. 4to), which complete Wolf's *Curæ*, embrace all the Gospels.—*J. F. G. Schulz's* *Anmerkungen über die vier Evangelien*. Halle 1794. 4to.—*Ch. Th. Kuinoel commentarius in libros N. T. historicos*. Lips. 1807. 4 vols. 8vo. (With the Acts of the Apostles). *Paulus' Philologisch-Kritischer Commentar über das N. T.* Lübeck, 1800—1808. 5 vols.—*Exegetisches Handbuch über die drei ersten Evangelien*. Heidelberg 1830—31. 2 vols. *By the same writer.*—*Fritsche evangelia quatuor cum notis*. Lips. 1825—30. 8vo. (The first volume treats of St Matthew, and the second of St Mark.)

Lastly, with regard to the Gospels *individually*, we have from the fathers of the church fragments of a Commentary on *St Matthew* by *Origen*. *Chrysostom* wrote ninety-one homilies on the Gospel of St Matthew. A catena on this Evangelist was edited by *Possin* (Tolosæ 1646). At a later period *Salomo van Till* (Frankf. 1708) and *Jac. Elsner* (Zwoll. 1769, 4to.) wrote on Matthew. Further: *Götz's Erklärung des Matthæus aus dem Griechisch-Hebræischen und dem Hebræischen*. Stuttgart 1785, 8vo. *Heddaeus's Erklärung des Matth.* Stuttgart and Tübingen 1792, 2 vols. The Bericht des Matth. von Jesus dem Messias, by *Bolten*. Altona 1792, 8vo. *Kleuker's Biblische Sympathieen*. Schleswig. 1820. Das Evangelium Matthæi von

¹ On the Harmonies of the Gospels compare the complete Literature of *Hase's Leben Jesu* (Life of Christ), p. 18, &c.

Gratz (in Bonn) erklärt. Tübingen 1821, 2 vols. 8vo.) *Pires* Commentarius in Evangelium Matthaei. Mogunt. 1825.

We have likewise a catena on the Gospel of *St Mark*, edited by *Possin* (Rome 1673). *Jac. Elsner* wrote likewise a Commentary on *St Mark* (Utrecht 1773); so also did *Bolten* (Altona 1795, 8vo.) *Matthaei* edited an Exposition of *St Mark*, written by *Victor*, a presbyter of Antiochia, and other Greek fathers (Moskau 1775, 2 vols. 8vo.)

Finally, with regard to *St Luke*, we have a catena on the same by *Corderius* (Antwerpen 1628). It was especially expounded by *Pape* (Bremen 1777—81, 2 vols. 8vo.), and by *Bolten* (Altona 1796, 8vo.) We possess, in like manner, of *Morus* Praelectiones in Lucae Evangelium, edited by *C. A. Donat*. Leipz. 1795. 8vo. The most recent works on *St Luke* are: Scholia in Lucam scripsit *Bornemann*., Lips. 1830; and Stein's Commentar über den Lucas. Halle 1831.

A

SYNOPTICAL EXPOSITION

OF

THE THREE FIRST GOSPELS.

I.

PART THE FIRST.

OF THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS CHRIST.

I. SECTION THE FIRST.

ACCOUNT OF MATTHEW.

(Chap. i. and ii.)

§ 1. GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.

(Matth. i. 1—17; Luke iii. 23—38.)

WHILST St Mark, even in the inscription of his Gospel (i. 1), represents Christ as the Son of God, St Matthew describes him as the Son of Man, first, by directing our attention to him as the descendant of the two great heads in the system of the Old Testament—Abraham and David; and again by adding his complete genealogy. The character of the Gospel of St Matthew, as of the *σωματικόν*, in the noble sense of the word, and its especial destination for Jewish Christians, appears undoubtedly evident from this form of the beginning. Jesus being introduced as υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ, he of necessity appears as the descendant of him, whose race is pre-eminent as the blessed one among the races of mankind; but being described as the son of David, he is thus assigned, in a more distinct manner, to a branch of the children of Abraham, namely, to the race of him who is mentioned even in the Old Testament as the representative of the future king of the kingdom of God. Both expressions, therefore, point at Christ as the Messiah promised. Yet this is more exactly expressed,

in Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Ἰησοῦς,¹ in the first place, signifies or points only at the human individuality, the historical personality of the Redeemer; Χριστός, on the contrary, is the official name of the longed-for Saviour of Israel. It corresponds with the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, a term which is applied in the Old Testament partly to kings (1 Sam. xxiv. 7, 11; xxvi. 10, more frequently), partly to high-priests (Levit. iv. 3, 5, 16, more frequently), partly to prophets (Ps. cv. 15), because all these persons (on the anointment of the prophets, comp. 1 Kings xix. 16) were consecrated for their office through the symbolical use of anointment, as an intimation that they must be furnished with spiritual powers for the proper direction of their office. In a few instances only the expression is met with in the Old Testament in reference to the royal prophets and high-priest of the kingdom of God (Psalm ii. 2; Dan. ix. xxv). From these passages sprang up the official name of the great individual longed-for, Χριστός, a name which had become prevalent even at the time of Christ; besides this, others were used which implied the spiritual character of the anointment (comp. Jer. xvi. 1 with Luke iv. 18). In this acceptation, the name of Christ expresses the union of the divine and human in the person of the Redeemer, because the humanity here is equivalent to the anointed, the endowed; and the divine power to the anointing, the endowing. Originally the Redeemer was called either ὁ Ἰησοῦς, with reference to his historical *individuality*, or ὁ Χριστός, with reference to his *dignity*; likewise Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός (see the commentary on Matth. i. 16). But at a later period both expressions were united in the collective name of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, which, however, must always be resolved by means of the above formula.

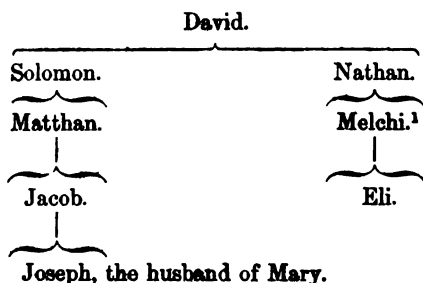
The first verse in St Matthew does not form merely an inscription for the genealogy which follows. Βιβλος γενέσεως (=רִבְכָּה בִּיבְלָהּ Gen. v. 1) signifies, in the first place: Book of generations, genealogy. This expression cannot possibly have a reference to the *whole* life of Jesus, because *γένεσις* nowhere signifies life.

¹ Ἰησοῦς is used in the Septuagint for יֵשׁוּעַ, or יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, which last form is only met with in the writings of a period subsequent to the exile. The name points at the spiritual character of the Lord, and was bestowed on him by Divine command as an intimation of his exalted destination (Matth. i. 21.) In like manner do the names, Abraham, Israel, &c., of the Old Testament, point at the spiritual character which these persons were called to impress on humanity.

But the signification *family-records*, which מִסְדֵּרֵי הַבֵּית no doubt has (comp. Genes. xxxvii. 2, αἱ αὐτὰς αἱ γενεαὶς Ἰακώβ, where no genealogical tables whatever are mentioned), may here be applied indeed, and permits the reference of this expression to the history of the infancy of Jesus contained in the first two chapters. This supposition would agree very well with the opinion that isolated compositions are found in the first chapters of St Matthew, and indeed of St Luke also, which having proceeded from the family of Mary, had fallen at a subsequent period into the hands of the Evangelists. The genealogy of St Matthew, however, compared with that of St Luke, clearly shows the different character of the two Gospels. Whilst St Matthew begins with Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish people, St Luke ascends to Adam, the first parent of the whole human race, the Gentiles included, and hereby connects the Redeemer with mankind at large, without reference to any national individuality. In their details, however, we find that the genealogies differ after the name of David, since St Matthew deduces the genealogical succession through Solomon, whereas St Luke does so through Nathan, another son of David. We find in St Luke, it is true, among otherwise dissimilar names (iii. 27, comp. with Matth. i. 12), likewise two similar ones, Salathiel and Zorobabel, yet these must be considered as having lived at different periods, since St Matthew enumerates nine, and St Luke seventeen, intervening persons. With respect to the difficulty which presents itself in the very different genealogies of Jesus given by St Matthew and St Luke, we may observe that, even during the earliest periods of the church, this formed the subject of learned inquiries; *Julius Africanus* especially (Euseb. H. E. I. 7) had his attention engaged in it. Three hypotheses¹ were formed, with unusual acuteness, for the solution of this difficulty: (1.) The supposition of a marriage between a woman and her deceased husband's brother (Deut. xxv. 6), besides which, for the explanation of the whole, we must suppose that both the brothers who had successively the same wife were not full brothers, but only step-brothers, of the same mother, but by different fathers, as, indeed, otherwise, through one father the genealogy would have been the same. This hypothesis was formed first by

¹ Other quite untenable attempts to explain this difficulty are to be found in *Wolf's* *Curæ*, and *Koecher's* *Analecta*. Comp. likewise *Surenhusius* βιβλ. παραλλαγῆς, p. 322 sqq.

Jul. Africanus (in the passage above-mentioned); the derivation, accordingly, would be this:—



This hypothesis explains the difference; the supposition, however, that Jacob and Eli had successively the same spouse, and that they were moreover step-brothers, is somewhat strained; nor can it be proved with certainty that in these marriages of duty the son was ever named after his real father; lastly, if this were the true explanation, both the genealogies would be those of Joseph, which appears to be quite out of place, since Jesus descended corporally from David and Abraham, not through Joseph, but through Mary. That step-brothers, and still more distant relations, were obliged to contract the marriage, mentioned Deut. xxv. 6, is proved by *J. D. Michaelis* in his *Mos. Recht*, vol. 2, page 200. (2.) The assumption that Mary was an heiress (*ἑκκληστρία*), and therefore compelled to marry from her own tribe (Numb. xxxvi. 5—8). The husband of an heiress [it is inferred] might [by way of compensation] enter the tribe of his wife, and thus receive, as it were, two fathers. According to this, the one genealogy would be, it is true, that of Mary; but the supposed modification of the law of the heiress, upon which here all would depend, is uncertain. At least Nehem. vii. 63 is insufficient to prove it.² The hypothesis, although inadequate to the solution of this difficulty, is nevertheless very relevant to the explanation of the journey of Mary to Bethlehem (Luke ii. 4). Altogether it appears suitable that the line of David, from which the Messiah was to descend, should have closed with an heiress, who was merely to give birth to the promised everlasting heir of the throne of David. This view, therefore, of

¹ *Jul. Africanus* omits Matthan and Levi, and appears hence to have read differently, or to have confounded the names; yet the name affects no change in the hypothesis.

² *Comp. J. D. Michaelis's Mos. Recht*, vol. ii. p. 78, sqq.

Mary having been an heiress, can be combined (3) with the third hypothesis, according to which the genealogy of Mary was communicated by St Luke, and that of Joseph by St Matthew. Jesus, according to this, will appear as the descendant of David both on the father's and on the mother's side; on the part of the mother the descent had real signification, and on the part of the father it had an ostensible one. For as Jesus appeared before the world as the son of Joseph (see Matth. xiii. 55), the Jews acknowledged him as a descendant of David, for which reason even his enemies raised no doubt of his descent from David. According to this hypothesis, Eli would be the father of Mary (with which the Jewish tradition agrees; comp. *Light-foot* on this passage), and if Joseph is called his son, we must here take *viç* as signifying son-in-law, as Ruth i. 11, 12, and elsewhere. Genealogical tables with women's names are, it is true, unusual, but an heiress would necessarily find admission; besides, the case of Mary was in itself an exception. Moreover, the real descent of Jesus from David through Mary must not be considered in any way as a mere external fact, the design of which was to fulfil the prophecies; the prophecy, on the contrary, that the Messiah would descend from Abraham and David, must be conceived as having a much deeper meaning. The appearance of the Messiah among the human race presupposed conditions and preparations, not only of a negative kind, in so far as the necessity of redemption had to be excited in the minds of men, but it presupposed likewise conditions and preparations of a positive kind, since the appearance of the Messiah (who was, so to speak, the blossoming of human nature) could not be a mere portion separated from the root. Inasmuch as a sacred stream of a higher life pervaded the entire lineage of the ancestors of our Lord, the incarnation of Christ must be considered as a fact thus prepared. The virgin who was elected mother of the Messiah, could not be suddenly born among the sinful race of man; though not without sin, yet she was the purest of the generation then existing, and her being such was her election of grace, her origin from the most holy family of the human race. As we find, in the course of the development of the human race, single generations springing up in sin and wickedness, on the other hand, there are tribes in whom the noblest germs of life are fostered and cultivated from generation to generation. Of course, it must not be supposed that those generations who, by

especial grace, were more protected against the corruption of sin, therefore required no salvation; this, on the contrary, must be considered as absolutely necessary for all men alike; but their susceptibility of redemption is greater, because, being of the truth, they hear more surely the call of God.

St Matthew, in the subsequent enumeration of the members of the genealogy, omits several of them (for example, ver. 8, between Joram and Josias, comp. 1 Chron. iii. 11; 2 Chron. xxi. 17); St Luke, on the contrary, adds (iii. 36) Cainan, who is not mentioned in the Hebrew text. This name is borrowed, no doubt, from the LXX., which St Luke, as a Greek scholar, made especial use of; the translators, however, may have adopted this name from tradition. (On such deviations of the LXX. from the original text which have been adopted by the New Testament, comp. the remarks on Luke iv. 18).

Ver. 2. Throughout the entire genealogical table, St Luke appears to report only, but herein St Matthew is likewise reflective; he divides the lines into certain classes, and adds especial remarks upon them. Of *Judas* he observes, that he had brothers; this he does, probably, because the ancestors of Israel, the twelve sons of Jacob, appear to him to require an especial mention. The same observation St Matthew makes of Jechoniah, (ver. 11,) in which passage, however, the expression ἀδελφοί =  (Gen. xviii. 8,) must be received in a wider sense, of a father's brothers, because Jechoniah had no full brothers, (1 Chron. iii. 15, 16).

Ver. 3. A peculiarity, too, of the genealogy of St Matthew is, that it frequently mentions the names of women, which was indeed the case with Jewish genealogies, whenever something remarkable lent them an interest. (Comp. Surenhussii *βιβλ. παραλλ.* p. 110). Tamar, (1 Mos. 38), Rahab, (Jos. 2), Ruth, Bathsheba, are mentioned by St Matthew. Tamar, Rahab,¹ and Bathsheba appear to be objectionable on account of their course of life, and Ruth also as a Gentile (Moabite); that they were, nevertheless, deemed worthy to be among the ancestors of the Messiah, necessarily imparted to them an importance of a pecu-

¹ Whether here Rahab ἡ πόρνη is meant, might appear uncertain, on account of the chronology; she follows too closely on Obed and Jesse, the ancestors of David. Yet the expression ἡ Παχάβ (with the article) clearly points to the known Rahab (the one mentioned Josh. ii.) Matth. perhaps has omitted some members.

liar kind. This, indeed, St Matthew renders yet more clear, by the significant expression, *ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου*, in order to hint at the wonderful and gracious dispensation of God, in the arrangement of the lineage of the Messiah. As instances of predestination and renovation through faith and repentance, and of the adoption of members belonging to Pagan tribes, among the people of God, the individuals mentioned are important even to the Jewish Rabbis. (See Wetstein's N. T. on ver. 3, comp. with Hebr. xi. 31). Had Matthew not wished to point to the dispensation of God, he would have rather mentioned in the genealogy of the Messiah the celebrated names of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

Ver. 6. *David*, as the main individual, who is, as it were, the centre point of the race of the Messiah, is styled emphatically, *ὁ βασιλεύς*, as the type of the Messiah-king. (Ezek. xxxvii. 24, and more freq.). A similar pause is formed subsequently in ver. 11, by the *μετοικεσία Βαβυλῶνος* = *αἰχμαλωσία*. The LXX uses the word *μετοικεσία* for *גלות* (Ezek. xxxiii. 21).

Ver. 16. The term *ἀνὴρ* here corresponds with *sponsus*, (ver. 19); the bridegroom, according to the Jewish law, was considered already as the owner of the bride, (Gen. xxix. 21; Deut. xxii. 23, 24). Matthew expresses himself very cautiously: *ἐξ ἧς ἐγενήθη Ἰησοῦς*, in order to hint at the supernatural birth of Christ; *γενᾶν* is used = *τίκτειν* (Luke i. 13). In the formula *Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*, *Χριστός* clearly stands forth as the official name. Except in this phrase, St Matthew simply uses *ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, or *ὁ Χριστός*. It was by degrees only that the name signifying the human individuality of the Redeemer grew closely together with his official name, so that both form a whole which has ever since been adopted in the language of the church; thus we find it especially in use by the Apostle Paul. (See Gersdorf's Beiträge zur Sprachcharacteristic, p. 38, sqq. 372, sqq.) The term *λέγεσθαι* in the phrase mentioned, has here, moreover, like *καλεῖσθαι* = *קריין* (see Luke i. 32), the important signification, "to be called, and to be truly." In a signification, or sense contrary to this, "to be called without being so," the expression occurs Eph. ii. 11, and Matth. xxvii. 17. This expression is often devoid of special emphasis in either sense or signification, as Matth. xxvi. 14; Mark xv. 7.

Ver. 17. St Matthew concludes his genealogical statements with a survey of the various pauses that can be discerned in the gene-

rations from Abraham to Christ. He makes three such pauses, of 14 generations each,¹ which may be counted, however, in more than one way. The manner of counting most conformable to the purpose, seems to be the one according to which David and Josias are counted twice,² (at the end of the one, and at the beginning of the other division), and Jesus is omitted altogether. If the person itself of Jesus is to be comprised in the account, as the concluding member of the third division, David only, in that case, must be counted twice; the first method, however, seems to me preferable. It is proper not to include Jesus himself among the generations, precisely as we do when we enumerate any person's ancestors. Besides, since St Matthew, as has been observed, has omitted some names, it cannot have been his intention to press the number 14; and as little ought we to perceive in this arrangement a mere means to aid the memory; on the contrary, the Evangelist merely wishes to express, through the equal number, the internal uniformity and regularity of the development.³ As the whole history of the world is developed within measured periods, and as, in general, every greater or lesser whole, in the range of God's creation, is based on internal degrees of development, through which it must pass to its con-

¹ Whether the number fourteen has any reference to the name of David, the Hebrew letters of whose name, if counted in the Jewish manner, amount to fourteen, is difficult to decide; yet such a supposition would agree well with the tenor of the whole statement of Matthew. Besides, the number fourteen must be considered as the double of the cipher seven, a cipher which, as is known, is treated as sacred by the Holy Scriptures. The three times fourteen, accordingly, are six times seven; with the person of Christ commences the seventh seven.

² Similar modes of counting are found likewise in other places. A simple *Nasiräat* lasted thirty days, a double *Nasiräat*, however, lasted not sixty, but fifty-nine days only, because the day occurring in the middle is not counted doubly. The Germans express a week as "an eight days," and the French express two weeks by "fifteen days," whereas the Germans say fourteen days.

³ The omission of some members can be traced back as far as to the originators of the genealogy of the family of Joseph; Matthew adopted the same as he found it, without altering it in any way; and hence his reflections thereon could accordingly refer to the form only in which it existed. Upon the truth of the reflections themselves, however, the want of some members can have no effect, in so far as the idea forming the basis of these reflections (namely, that everything contained in God's world develops or unfolds itself according to number or measure), is no less applicable to the complete than to the abbreviated or incomplete genealogy.

summation, so there is a regularity in the unfolding of the stem, which is, as it were, the inmost vein of life of mankind, from which the Messiah was to proceed. This fundamental idea *Bengel* conceived (in the *Gnomon* to the passage) in a very correct manner; but the additions, as well as his chronological system with which he connects it, appear to me untenable. (For the particulars of this subject we must refer to the exposition of the Revelation of John).

Something singular and quite marvellous is exhibited, moreover, in a genealogical table with which the Evangelists begin the record of the life of Christ, in which mention is made of three times fourteen and seventy-five ancestors, respectively, comprising a period of 2000 or 4000 years. The possibility of constructing a genealogical table such as this, progressing always in an uninterrupted line from father to son, of a family that dwelt for a long time in the utmost retirement, and comprising a period of thousands of years, would be inexplicable, (for even those renowned families in modern times, of whose genealogies millions of human beings boast, are unable to trace their pedigree through a period of a thousand years, and none indeed progresses in such an uninterrupted line), had not the members of this ancestral line been endowed with a thread, by means of which they were able to extricate themselves from the many families into which every tribe and branch was again subdivided, in order thus to hold fast or to know *the* member that was destined to continue the lineage. This thread was the hope that the Messiah would be born from the race of Abraham and David. The ardent desire to behold him, and to become partakers of his mercy and glory, did not suffer the attention to be exhausted through a period embracing thousands of years.¹ According to the divine dispensation, therefore, the member who was destined to continue the lineage became easily distinguishable, whenever he was doubtful; thereby the hope of a final fulfilment was awakened anew, and kept alive until it was consummated. An excellent representation of the marvel contained in the construction of this genealogy, is given by *Köppen* in his work, *Die*

¹ That the Jews paid minute attention to their genealogical tables, even at a subsequent period, is shown by *Julius Africanus*, (Euseb. i. 7). Herod caused them to be sought for, and had them destroyed, in order that no one might be able to prove that his family was of greater antiquity than the reigning dynasty royal.

Bibel, ein Werk der göttlichen Weisheit (Leipz. 1798, 2 vols. 8vo. Comp. vol. ii. p. 199, sqq.), a new edition of which is preparing by *Scheibel*.

§ 2. THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

(Matth. i. 18—25).

The narrative of St Matthew respecting the birth of Jesus, bears the character of the greatest simplicity and conciseness; there is an utter absence of chronological and topographical reference throughout this narrative; the persons therein spoken of are supposed to be generally known to the readers; he only represents the great fact of the supernatural birth of Christ, which he does in a style of sober history, and without any embellishment whatever; he therein proves the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Old Testament, and, finally, he relates the guidance of Joseph in this wonderful event. The want of graphic representations which this narrative of St Matthew, together with his whole Gospel, betrays, is easily excused, inasmuch as the real historical narrative is evidently pervaded by a sober earnestness, which is less perceived in St Luke, in consequence of his poetical effusions. Hence, all those learned men are wrong who, notwithstanding their opposition to the general application of the mythical exposition to the history of Jesus, have not felt themselves bound to admit, that at least the history of the birth and infancy of Christ has been subject to mythical influences. Yet it is here, especially, that we perceive, most strikingly, the insufficiency of such a supposition, because, if the events have not taken place in the manner recorded by the Evangelists, profane ideas intrude upon the mind respecting the origin of Jesus. For, since Christ is undeniably an historical person, it follows that he must have been begotten and born; hence, the assertion that the Gospel-history betrays a mythical character, can favour that view only which destroys the notion of a Redeemer, viz. that Jesus entered into existence in an unholy manner, inasmuch as Mary was *unmarried* at the time when she carried him in her womb. The subterfuge which men have recourse to, that Jesus might have sprung from the marriage of Joseph and Mary, falls to the ground in consequence of its unhistorical character; for if this,

too, is a myth, viz. that Mary was pregnant *before* her marriage, we may regard it as equally mythical that Mary gave birth to Jesus, yea, that Jesus existed at all.

Besides, we shall find, on a closer examination, that what seemingly recommends the view of the mythical nature of the history of Christ's infancy, is rather opposed to it than otherwise. This is especially the case when we are referred to traditions concerning the birth of great men from pure virgins (*παρθενογενεῖς*), as for instance Buddha, Zoroaster, Plato, and others. Such traditions are by no means opposed to biblical history, as little, indeed, as are analogous presentiments of an expected Redeemer. On the contrary, they bear witness to the very correct notion that noble minds are to be found in every nation: that nothing can result in the way of natural procreation (nor, therefore, from the womb of mankind), which could correspond with the ideal represented in the human mind: they vouch for the general desire of such a fact, for the longing after it, and hereby for its historical realisation. But since we have so sober an historical report as that of St Matthew, respecting the supernatural procreation of Jesus in the womb of a pure virgin, a report, too, which seems to have been rendered intentionally simple in order to divest it of everything imaginary; furthermore, as the actions of Jesus throughout his life confirm the assertion of his having been born in a supernatural manner, since the archetype of all things ideal was realised in him, which could never have been the case had he sprung from sinful humanity, and from the power that dwells therein; hence, the conviction, that that general desire has been indeed accomplished in the person of Jesus, obtains a foundation completely historical. *To this must be added*, that the narrative of the procreation of Christ through the Holy Ghost, stands in a necessary connection with his entire destination to be the physician and redeemer of infirm humanity, because it would have been impossible for any one who himself had sprung from the sinful human race, to heal the wounds from which it suffers. He, it is true, had to be intimately connected with men, to be of their flesh and of their bones (Ephes. v. 30), and yet at the same time without sin; for this reason he was not begotten from the sinful seed of man, but Mary was touched by a pure divine fire from heaven. If, therefore, in the person of Christ, we do not behold a mere human being, although one endowed with the greatest powers, but, on the con-

trary, believe that in him the Word was made flesh (John i. 1, 14), the narrative of the supernatural procreation of Jesus not only will not be remarkable, but will appear as alone suitable to the Redeemer. A Redeemer begotten according to the flesh, and one sprung from the sinful race of man, is a notion that contradicts itself; the idea of a *σωτήρ* requires that something sublime and heavenly, something that has no resting place in the lap of mankind, should become realised in him.¹ *Finally*, the mythical conception of the history of Christ's infancy is untenable, because the mother of Jesus lived a considerable length of time after the ascension; every apostle had access to her reports, and every error, therefore, would have been soon corrected by her testimony.

With regard to the *appearances of the angel*, the mention of which in the narrative of St Matthew might be considered as very important to show its mythical character, we must remember, first of all, that the narrator reports the appearances of the angel as facts in this as well as other parts of his Gospel. Precisely in conformity with what we find in the Old Testament, the appearances of the angel are interwoven by St Matthew as real occurrences in the temporary order of the world with the other circle of facts to be reported, without intimating even in the least that the writer wishes them to be considered in any way whatever as fabulous expressions of internal psychological processes or ideal images conjured up by existing circumstances. The duty of the expounder extends beyond the determination of a writer's views, only in so far as he not only interprets, but even justifies the result of his interpretation; a duty which cannot be denied, according to the present position of science. The following remarks may perhaps suffice for the present exigency. According to the testimony of holy writ, we must not suppose that angels are separated from men by a chasm not to be filled up; on the contrary, we are instructed on its authority to believe that they minister around and for him, and especially for the faithful (Heb. i. 14.) Their ministry is generally

¹ The argument, "that a human father (Joseph) would no more interfere, than a human mother (Mary), with the purity of Jesus," only changes the position of this wonder without removing it. If we suppose an influence of the Spirit so as to check the transition of all things sinful upon Jesus as a matter of fact, this then is no less a miracle than the procreation through the Holy Ghost. But why are we to consider the wonders in a manner different from that in which the Spirit of God was pleased of revealing it to us?

not invisible. The possibility of their becoming visible lies in the nature of spirit itself, whose innate energy must necessarily make itself visible. Realised, however, this possibility becomes according to the dispensation of God only there, wherever it tends to the salvation of men, and hence for instructive purposes. The appearances of angels, like other *σημεῖα*, tend to prove to man the certainty of his being guided by the will of God, in order to deliver him from those errors which he is personally subject to. Herein consists the main importance which they possess in the divine economy. Yet, compared with other forms of divine communication, they assume a subordinate character. For the ministry of angels refers chiefly to the physical portion of man's existence; they are the living pillars and moving agents of the world, who have been replaced by natural powers agreeably to the modern mechanical view of the world; while the religious ethical world is the theatre of the ministry of the divine Spirit. From this it will appear clear, why to one an angel appears, sometimes in a dream and sometimes in waking, and why to another the Lord himself appears; arbitrariness must here be left out of the question; on the contrary, the various forms of revelation are in proportion to the viewing powers of those for whom they are destined. Communication by visions evidently manifests itself as the lowest degree of divine revelation; it is, so to speak, a divine revelation manifested in a state of unconsciousness; we see it bestowed on Joseph, in whom, according to the Gospel-history, there is no defined spiritual character. Through appearances of angels seen in a state of waking, the same becomes capable to receive inwardly the revelation through the word (this is the usual form of receiving the inspirations from on high by Moses and the prophets). The highest degree of revelation is the appearance of Jehovah himself, the angel *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, which was the privilege of the greatest saints only, of an Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and Paul. The church of Christ no longer requires the appearances of angels, since she possesses, in the Holy Ghost bestowed on her, the source itself of all truth. The *form* in which angels appear (with wings, or clad in garments, and such like) must be considered as merely accidental, occasioned solely by those circumstances under which the appearance takes place. However, on the part of him who beholds angels, the opening of the internal eye is always a condition. Appearances emanating from the heavenly world can-

not be seen by every one with a heavenly eye, as objects of the external world; and although other persons be present, yet the angel sees or appears to him only for whom his appearance is destined. Thus the angels ascended and descended upon Jesus already, when he said the words to the Apostles (John i. 51), but their internal eye was closed as yet against the occurrences of the spiritual world. Accordingly, no appearance of angels must be considered as a mere external occurrence, but likewise as an internal effect produced in the contemplating being (comp. Numb. xxii. 31). Finally, Christ our Lord *had* no revelations,¹ for he *was* not only *a* revelation, but *the* revelation of God manifested in the flesh. The angels of the Lord ascend and descend upon him, i.e. he is the centre and medium between the visible and invisible world, so that the mutual operations of these two are directed and regulated by him (comp. John i. 51).

Ver. 18. The first narrative following the genealogy is introduced under an especial heading, in which Ἰησοῦ, no doubt, is a spurious addition (see *Gersdorff*, on the passage mentioned, page 39). *γένεσις*, the term most approaching to the Hebrew *תולדות*, is to be preferred to the reading of *γέννησις*. *Μαρία*, as also *Μαρίαμ*, corresponds with the Hebrew *מרים*, Exod. xv. 24; Numb. xii.

1. The endeavours of the Evangelist to exhibit Mary as pure and untouched by man cannot be mistaken; to *μνηστευθεῖσιν γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*, he expressly adds *πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς*. By *συνελθεῖν* (which is parallel with the above *παρалаβεῖν*, v. 20, 25) is denoted living and dwelling together, which of course involves the conjugal union. *εὐρίσκεισθαι* is not used any more than *εὑρίσκειν*, merely instead of *εἶναι*; on the contrary, it signifies detection or recognition. (On *ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, see Luke i. 35.)

Ver. 19. The narrative of St Matthew implies that Mary did not disclose her situation to Joseph (for other points see Luke ii. 39). As soon as he himself had become aware of it, he endeavoured to dismiss her without noise (*λάθρα*, i.e. by concealing in the documents the ground of divorce). *Ἀπολύειν* denotes the formal dismissal by means of a written declaration, Deut. xxiv. 1.

¹ There is only a semblance of contradiction to this idea in passages such as Luke xxii. 43, according to which an angel appeared to Christ in Gethsemane. For this angel *revealed* to him nothing, but ministered to the physical exhaustion of the Redeemer, and appeared to him only in order to comfort him bodily.

Joseph, according to the Jewish custom, divorced his bride as formally as if she had been his wife;¹ but showed himself as *δίκαιος*. The expression here cannot mean, as in Luke i. 6, a person who carefully fulfils the precepts of the law, for according to the same he could have laid an information against his bride (Deut. xxii. 23 sqq.); but he is mentioned as kind and benignant. Chrysostom has it: *χρηστός, ἐπιεικής* (comp. Rom. iii. 21 on the connected development of the idea of *δίκαιος* and its derivatives).—The word *παράδειγματιζεν*, or making a *παράδειγμα* of a person, expresses the idea of *φανερῶσαι*, but with the accessory idea of shame (Heb. vi. 6). Thus, then, the Father suffered his only begotten son and his mother, as also his chosen ones of the church, to pass through good and bad reports! That God himself suffered the semblance of a sin committed previously to fall upon Mary (for she must have appeared in the eyes of the world under every circumstance as being with child prematurely) must be regarded as a trial with respect to Mary herself, one which tended to perfect her belief; with regard to Christ, however, this circumstance must be added to the character of his abasement—he was to appear as sent *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. viii. 3).

Ver. 20. It may well be supposed that the conduct to which Joseph believed himself compelled must have produced in him powerful emotions. From these natural processes in the mind, and from the dreams and fancies which arose out of them, we must distinguish a higher influence than was produced upon Joseph in his dream, for it was this that led to his behaviour towards Mary, as related in verses 24, 25. The text does not lead us, by this appearance of the angel, to imagine something externally visible; as it occurred to Joseph in a dream, it will be best to conceive of it as an internal vision. The same God who warns expressly against false dreams (Jer. xxiii. 32; xxix. 8) not seldom directs his people in true ones (Numb. xii. 6), by pointing out to the simple-minded, who are really anxious to obtain a knowledge of truth and of the way to please God, unmistakeable criteria of pure visions, by which they may distinguish between such and false ones. Yet, these are modified according to the

¹ Maimonides apud Buxt. de divort. p. 76, femina ex quo desponsata est, licet mundum a viro cognita, est uxor viri et si sponsus eam velit repudiare, oportet ut id faciat libello repudii.

individuality of persons, and therefore cannot be reduced to rules; every divine guidance, by dreams or any other communication, demands internal earnestness and purity of heart. The unclean mind always hears and sees falsely wherever it snatches at divine signs. (Ἐνδυμείδσαι means to agitate in the θυμός, to ponder over with a liking of the heart. [Comp. Matth. ix. 4; Acts of the Apostles x. 19.] Κατ' ὄναρ is only to be found in Matthew [ii. 12, 13, 19, 22; xxvii. 19]. The contrast to this formula forms κατ' ὕπαρ; this, however, does not occur in the New Testament. Ἐν αὐτῇ = ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς, the child unborn, reposing as yet in the womb of the mother, but already existing. The preposition *ἐκ* denotes the Holy Ghost as the creative cause of the existence of the child.

Ver. 21. The indefinite neuter (γεννηθῆν) is more precisely expressed by the term *son*; the name applied to him is mentioned, and the signification of the name with reference to his destination is pointed out. The great importance of names pervades the whole of the sacred writings. The name, according to its proper destination, must not be an arbitrary one, but express the nature of the individual bearing it. Through sin this original import of the name has been destroyed, inasmuch as sin destroyed the faculty of perceiving the internal being; in those great personages, however, who form the pillars of all that is noble in our race, the Holy Ghost has supplied this want from above. The last words of the verse express the great and sublime destination of this offspring of the Spirit; he is represented as the σωτήρ (שׁוֹתֵר) of his people. The expression λαός = עַם stands for the Jewish people as the antithesis to ἔθνος = עַמִּי, although ἔθνος likewise signifies sometimes the Jewish people (John xi. 51). That the angel here views the destination of the Redeemer with reference to the Jewish people only, is to be understood as similar words of Jesus himself (see Matth. x. 5, 6). The Jews, indeed, according to the whole divine economy and order of salvation, alone had a calling and destination for the σωτηρία. Reference to the Gentiles is thereby by no means excluded; the λαός of the σωτήρ is, in the more extended sense of the word, the whole spiritual Israel, the hearts of all nations, languages, and tongues, which long after righteousness and truth (John x. 16). But for the proper discernment of the nature of the promised σωτηρία, the addition ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν is im-

portant. The *ethical* character of the redemption to be effected by the Messiah, which had been lost at the time of Christ among the rude mass of the Jews, but not so among the nobler portion of the nation, here appears in the clearest light, and can only be disputed by those who are blinded by partiality. It corresponds with the expression of a similar passage in Luke i. 77, ἄφαισις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. Σώσις denotes the removal or extirpation quite as much as the forgiveness of sin. The reference of ἁμαρτία to the punishment of sin (and indeed to its most external form, oppression by the Romans) is inadmissible, because ἁμαρτία never does, nor can, denote the punishment of sin *without* the sin, but only the punishment of sin *with* the sin.

Ver. 22, 23. The following words are evidently not those of the angel, but those of the Evangelist, who refers his Jewish readers to the Old Testament in order to prove to them that whatever is new in the Gospel is to be found existing already in the sacred basis upon which they rest their belief. The efficacious cause of it is the Lord himself (ὑπὸ, as above ἐκ, used of the source, the origin); the prophet appears only as the mediating organ. Διὰ as the antithesis to ὑπὸ, denoting the instrument, by means of which some end is attained.) But with regard to the sense here of the formula, ἵνα or ὅπως πληρωθῇ, which is especially to be found in St Matthew, it is clear, in the first place, that the writers themselves of the New Testament understood it in its literal and natural sense; hence πληροῦσθαι has the signification of the actual fulfilment of *athing promised in the past*; so that πληροῦσθαι always presupposes a promise. The conjunction ἵνα, as denoting the *consequence*, cannot [here] be translated *so that* (ἐκβατικῶς), but expresses the *intention* (τελικῶς), and must be rendered *that, in order that*. The aim of the whole formula is evidently to render prominent *whatever is aimed at in the result*, an idea, indeed, to which πληροῦσθαι necessarily leads. We may therefore complete the phrase τοῦτο γέγονεν by adding the words ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, for the thing which came to pass must not be conceived of as accidental. The formula, indeed, bears its simple grammatical sense wherever expositors can explain it of actual prophecies contained in the Old Testament; but where they imagine this to be impossible, they assign to it a more extended meaning, thus: "The result is such that the words of the Old Testament find here with propriety their applica-

tion." The latter explanation goes on the admission that *iva* may be used in the New Testament *ἐξβαρυνῶς*,¹ but it does not follow that it *must* be taken in this sense; and the formula *iva πληρωθῇ*, so well known in the New Testament, can have but one and the same meaning in *all* passages in which it is used. The reference made to the general customs which prevailed among the Jews, to apply passages of the Old Testament in a sense entirely different from that which their context dictates, is, in any case, inadmissible, because it is improbable that the sacred writers should have accommodated themselves to a custom so insignificant, and so much exposed to abuse. But even if it were so, the meaning of the phrase *iva πληρωθῇ* would not thereby be changed; for had the writers of the New Testament gone so far with the ideas of the day, they would have surely gone to their root, and believed that holy writ has an infinity of senses, and can be applied under all possible circumstances. Such, in fact, is the opinion of every Rabbi as often as he applies the Scripture in his own (although foolish) way; and following his opinion of the universal applicability of the sacred writings, he imagines that in all such cases he finds a fulfilment of the scriptural text. Hence, in my

¹ The question respecting the use of the term *iva* is important in a dogmatic point of view; it forms a subject for discussion, not only in the prophecies of the Old Testament, but likewise in the question concerning predestination. (Comp. the remarks to Matth. xiii. 14, 15; John xii. 39, 40). It is, however, remarkable, that whether we admit that *iva* is *very often*, or deny that it is *ever*, used *ἐξβαρυνῶς*, in either way we encounter a difficulty in understanding some passages. This is especially the case with regard to John xvii. 3, where the words *αὔτη ἰστίη ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ, ἵνα γινώσκωσι Θεόν*, are rendered: *vita aeterna in hoc cernitur studio, ut te cognoscant*. In the place of the knowledge itself of God, we thus obtain a mere aspiration after it. Here, too, the truth seems to lie in the middle, and it is to my mind certain that St John uses *iva* of a mere result. This Evangelist has, in all his writings, one passage only (John iii. 16,) in which *ᾧστε* is used in this sense in preference to *iva*, and there after *οὕτως* preceding; *οὕτως*, too, only occurs John xi. 57. But it is, nevertheless, inconceivable why St John should not have wished at times to express the idea of mere result without design; and passages such as John iv. 34; ix. 2; xv. 13; xvi. 7; xvii. 3, show that he applied the term *iva* instead. *Winer* (Gr. p. 427 sqq.) goes a little too far, indeed, by admitting, only after those verbs which signify a command, wish, or request, a weakened meaning of *iva*; whereas he denies a permutation of *iva* and *ᾧστε*.

opinion, it is to avoid doctrinal embarrassment that men have explained the formula in question with such a neglect of grammatical rule. They thought they had no right to consider as prophecies all those passages quoted in the New Testament, which, when compared with the Old, in its proper connections, were found to contain no prophecies whatever. To evade the objection that the writers of the New Testament have quoted, as prophecy, passages from the Old Testament which contain no prophecy, the phrase *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* has in such instances been so interpreted. Hence, if the obstacle be removed, no excuse will remain for deviation from the true literal sense. But the obstacle may be removed by acknowledging in the prophecies of the Old Testament a double reference,—to a present debased something, and to a future exalted something. Under such a supposition, we shall be able to keep everywhere to the one true, simple, grammatical, literal sense, and to acknowledge the quotations made in the New Testament as prophecies in the full sense of the word. It belongs to the peculiar arrangement and order of the Scripture, that the life and being of the Old Testament should form a mirror reflecting the life of the New Testament, especially of the person of Christ, as the representative of the New Testament, and that the threads of all the ideas and institutions of the Old Testament should be concentrated there, as in its centre).¹ (Comp. *my* treatise: *Ein Wort über tiefern Schriftsinn*. Königsberg, 1824. Against it, *Steudel* in *Bengel's Archiv*. vol. iii. art. 2. Finally, *Kleinert's* *Bemerkungen* in *Tholuck's Anz.* Jahrg. 1831. Numb. 28). This general character of the Old Testament is exhibited likewise in the passage (Is. vii. 14,) here quoted. The literal sense of the passage necessarily requires a reference to something present, since the

¹ Comp. *Hamann's* History of his Conversion, (Works vol. i. p. 211, sqq.), where he says: "I found the unity of the divine will in the redemption of Jesus Christ, that all history, all the miracles, all the commands and works of God, met in this centre point." In the works of Hamann, we may discover an instance of modern times, of that spiritual interpretation as it was in use by the writers of the New Testament. Very truly, indeed, does *Bengel* say in his *Gnom.* ad h. l. Sæpe in N. T. allegantur vaticinia, quorum contextum prophetarum temporum non dubium est, quin auditores eorum ex *intentione divina* interpretari debuerint de rebus jam tum præsentibus. Eadem vero *intentio divina*, longius prospiciens, sic formavit orationem, ut magis proprie deinceps ea convenirent in tempora Messiae, et hanc intentionem divinam apostoli nos docent, nosque dociles habere debent.

παρθένης, who is to give birth to Immanuel, is exhibited by the prophet to king Ahaz as a sign; a reference to the Messiah, to be born "from a virgin" after many centuries, appears not at all to the purpose under existing circumstances. The most natural way would be to understand by *virgin*¹ the betrothed of the prophet, who as his spouse is called prophetess, נְבִיאָה, Is. viii. 3. In that case we can naturally expound the passage as follows:—Isaiah gives to Ahaz a sign that his present bride and future wife will bear a son called Immanuel, and that his promises will become fulfilled before the infant shall be grown to a boy; hence, in two or three years. Thus was given to king Ahaz a sign אִימָן, soon to be recognized; the birth of Immanuel, however, at the same time, in a far higher sense, had reference to the Messiah, through whom the prophecy was fulfilled, since he was born from a *virgin*, as a sign (אִימָן) for the incredulous world, which was represented by Ahaz. This suits very well with the entire symbolizing manner in which Isaiah named his sons. He represented a whole series of ideas and facts, which appeared to him, under the circumstances of those days particularly important, in his children, the one of whom was called Shear-jashub (vii. 3,) the other Maher-shalal-hash-baz, (viii. 3,) whilst the third and last was called Immanuel. Thus the prophet formed of his family a circle of ideas which was, so to speak, embodied and personified, and within which his prophetic spirit dwelt and acted. Such a manner of teaching is quite in accordance with the prophetic ministry, and hence St Matthew was quite right in applying the birth of Immanuel, the son of the prophet, to the birth of Christ, because that parallel was had in view, and was expressed by the spirit of prophecy.² Besides, the

¹ παρθένης = עַלְמָה, unmarried female, differing in itself from בְּתוּלָה, which necessarily signifies pure virginity; but the word עַלְמָה may also, and, in fact, *must* here be used as speaking of a pure virgin.

² Not even the able defence of the opposite party, conducted by Hengstenberg in his *Christologie*, vol. i. part ii. p. 45, sqq. where he says, that the prophetic words expressed or implied nothing of a low character, has been able to convince me that this manner of explaining the passage is untenable, (Is. vii. 14). It seems to me that Hengstenberg has not succeeded in solving the difficult problem, how the reference made to the Messiah could be a sign for Ahaz. An unbiassed reflection necessarily leads us to suppose, that Ahaz must have

terms which St Matthew here uses do not quite agree with the Septuagint, nay, they even depart from the original text, inasmuch as the word קָרָאת (signifying thou shalt call, 2d person of the fem. gen.) is rendered καλίσουσι.

Ver. 24, 25. Joseph obeyed the divine command in all things; he believed in the purity of his wife, and having taken her unto himself, he gave the child after its birth the name which had been commanded. However, the Evangelist makes here a remarkable addition in the following words:—οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν, ἵως οὗ ἴσται τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. That here γινώσκεν = $\gamma\tau$ is used to denote conjugal cohabitation requires no proof; the only question is, whether these words express the notion of a cohabitation not having taken place *at all* during the married life of Joseph, or whether such was only the case *previous* to the birth

been informed that something would happen during his life. The reference made to the period of two or three years which would be required for the growth of the Messiah, who was to be born centuries afterwards, contains much that is exceedingly forced. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the prophecy must necessarily have been of little importance to Ahaz. However, the grounds brought forward against my view appear to me very feeble. For, when *Hengstenberg* says that there exists no analogy between the birth of Immanuel in a natural manner, and that of the Messiah in a supernatural, it is then correct that St Matthew urges the expression παρθένος, which has not, however, the same emphasis in the prophet. Still, this free use of the prophecy is not uncommon in the New Testament, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and may be safely received, if, as in this case, the passage quoted is a true prophecy or type. For, the references in this passage harmonize with each other to the *name Immanuel*; the son of Isaiah had the *name*, but Christ the *nature*, he *was* the visible God whom the other only represented. Besides, anomalous features must exist in every type or symbol, for otherwise it would be no type, but the thing itself. Hence, all the prophecies of Scripture have sufficient resemblances to be *recognized* by those who are in want of them, and who from necessity seek them; but they have likewise a sufficient number of dissimilarities to be *mistaken* by those who have no desire to discover and know them. (In the main point I agree in opinion with the remarks made by *Umbreit* on Isaiah vii. 14, in the Stud. und Krit. for 1830, part iii. p. 538 sqq.) The assumption of the late *Kleinert*, (see Tholuck's Anz. for 1832, numb. 25 sqq.) that it was a vision which God showed to Ahaz through the prophet, concerning the virgin and Immanuel, and that we ought to consider it as such, would doubtless contribute to explain many a point; but in the text a vision is not named by the prophet, and hence, without an intimation of this kind, the assumption of a vision is quite arbitrary.

of Jesus. From the text before us, especially from the words ἵως οὗ and πρωτότοκος, we are led to suppose the *latter*. The former seems to imply that the conjugal life of Joseph and Mary commenced *after* the birth of Jesus; and the latter expression seems to assert that Mary had many children. But as it is improbable, from Gospel-history, that Mary had other children, (for the particulars on this subject see Matth. xiii. 55,) no forced conclusion can be drawn from the word πρωτότοκος in favour of the assumption that a conjugal relation existed subsequently between Joseph and Mary. For, the expression in Hebrew is but בְּכוֹרָה or פְּטִירָה, which may imply the *first-born* of children as well as the *only one*. (Besides, it must be well remembered, that the words here used are πρωτότοκος αὐτῆς; in the formulas πρωτότοκος ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς [Rom. viii. 29,] ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν [Rev. i. 5,] πάσης κτίσεως [Col. i. 15] this expression, of course, has quite a different meaning. In like manner we find in Heb. i. 6, a parallel passage, where the expression stands unconnected. (See the commentary on these passages). Neither does the formula ἵως οὗ = עַד כִּי necessarily imply that whatever is denied to have happened before or up to a given time, has happened afterwards. This is proved in the Old Testament by passages such as Gen. viii. 7; 2 Sam. vi. 23. It is true, that no passage in the New Testament having any reference to it, for example, Matth. xxii. 44; (comp. with 1 Cor. xv. 28,) Matth. v. 26, is quite decisive. But it is in accordance with the nature of the particle, not to imply necessarily that whatever has not happened up to a certain point of time, has occurred at the expiration of it. All depends upon conditions and circumstances. We can say, for example: We waited till midnight, but no one came; herein it is not implied that any one came after midnight, —it only means, no one came at all. Hence, we must say, that no conclusion can be safely drawn from this passage in support of either the one view or the other; St Matthew asserts it only as a fact, that Joseph disowned Mary up to the birth of Jesus. Joseph, it is evident, had great reason to suppose, from what had occurred, that the end of *his marriage* with Mary was not to beget children. The words of the Evangelist run perhaps designedly as they do, in order to prevent any inference being drawn from these events which might prove unfavourable to the sacredness of the marriage; but it seems natural, nevertheless,

that the last female member of the house of David, from whom the Messiah was born, should close her race with this eternal offspring, and only child. (The contrary opinion is defended by *Stier* in his *Andeutungen*, vol. 1st, p. 404 sqq).

§ 3. ARRIVAL OF THE MAGI. FLIGHT TO EGYPT. MASSACRE
OF THE INNOCENTS. RETURN TO EGYPT.

(Matth. ii. 1—23).

Ver. 1. St Matthew observes, only incidentally, and by way of addition, that Jesus was born at Bethlehem,¹ at the time of Herod (surnamed the Great, who was the son of Antipater); yet he makes no distinct mention of the dwelling-place of Joseph and Mary, from which it appears clear that the Evangelist, in recording the life of Christ, intentionally speaks as little about the time as the place, a circumstance which is not unimportant, from the seeming discrepancies which exist between St Matthew and St Luke, upon which we shall touch hereafter. (Βηθλέμ, בֵּית-לֵחֶם was two leagues, or six Roman millia south by west of Jerusalem. Originally this town was called Ephrath, [Gen. xxxv. 19; xlviii. 7,] and is here distinguished by the addition of ἡς, Ἰουδαίας from another Bethlehem in Galilee, which belonged to the children of Zebulun, as mentioned in Josh. xix. 15. As the native town of David, it is called simply πόλις Δαβὶδ, Luke ii. 4, 11). The most important thing with St Matthew is the homage done by the magi to the newly born Messiah: (The magi, as is well known, were the priests and wise men among the Persians. In Jerem. xxxix. 3, the expression רֹאשׁ רַב־חָכְמָה occurs, and there signifies the head of the college of magi. The Greek translation of this term by Suidas, who renders it φιλόσοφοι, φιλόδοτοι, is inferior to one of Persian origin, signifying *great, excellent*. Afterwards the title μάγος, like *mathematicus, chaldaeus*, was applied to every lover of secret

¹ As St Matthew does not describe more minutely the person of Herod, many of which name ruled over Palestine, (comp. the first chronological table of my exposition of the Acts of the Apostles), it is clear that he supposes his readers to be acquainted with the circumstances; and this likewise contributes to the explanation of many peculiarities in his narrative.

wisdom, but more especially to astrologers. Comp. Acts of the Apostles xiii. 6). This narrative is easily explained the moment we regard the magi as followers of Zoroaster's System of Light, which, even before the birth of Christ, had spread throughout Asia anterior. (Pompey had found among the Cilician pirates the worship of Mithras, which is a branch of the Zend-religion. Comp. Plut. vit. Pomp. c. 37). The expression, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν¹ must therefore be used in the indefinite and general sense peculiar to it; it refers, like ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲱⲛ, to everything situated in an easterly direction of Palestine, such as Arabia and Persia, which lies much further off. Hence, the assumption that the magi were Persians, is tenable, because the system of the Zend contains remarkable germs of truth, as for example the idea of a Zoziosh, i.e. of an expected Redeemer; and then, again, because we may more easily imagine a greater correspondence between Jewish ideas and the natural religion of the Persians, than with that of any other nation. To believe such a correspondence of ideas is in this place necessary, because the Persians expected their Redeemer from the family of Zoroaster, whereas, on the other hand, these magi sought the βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (ver. 2).² Besides, the circumstance of a star having been the guide of the magi, as St Matthew tells us, implies an acquaintance with astronomical pursuits, which was not foreign to the Parsees. With regard to the report, that the prophecy of the appearance in the east of a great king of the world, was current even among the Gentiles at the time when Christ was born (Suet. Vesp. c. 4. Tacit. Hist. v. 13. Joseph. B. J. I. v. 5; vii. 31), and which affords a proof how great events, especially such as concern the whole human race, announce themselves through certain presentiments,—this mysterious foreknowledge of the Gentiles cannot well be used in this place to explain the arrival of the magi. Their faith, it is evident, was based upon firmer foundations than such vague reports; they saw in this new-born infant whom they sought, not only a governor, but the Redeemer, their own Zoziosh. The

¹ Ἀνατολή, when used to express one of the cardinal points of the world, occurs (like δυσμές) chiefly in the plural (comp. Matth. viii. 11. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν), perhaps on account of the daily return of the rising and setting sun.

² We could likewise suppose that these magi were Jews, such for example as belonged to the ten lost tribes; but the expression βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων especially speaks of persons that were not Jews.

perception of these believing or faithful strangers was, no doubt, essentially correct, yet we must consider well to what extent we can ascribe to them exact doctrinal notions. Besides, the ancient church considered these magi to have been the representatives of the Gentile world, which through them did homage to our Lord; this is a wise thought, and full of deep truth! Owing to the prophetic declarations made in the Old Testament concerning this event (Ps. lxxviii. 30, 32; lxxii. 10; Is. xlix. 7; lx. 3, 6), the magi were early considered to have been kings, and legends gave them the names of Caspar, Melchior, and Balthasar. To those of Christ's adversaries, who assert that the New Testament contains myths, it is, of course, of importance to view this event, that is the appearance of the magi before the new-born Redeemer, as a philosophical mythus, destitute of historical foundation, and as one through which tradition intended to express the idea contained in the passages from the Old Testament just referred to, viz. that the Messiah would exercise a universal sway, and one which would extend beyond the limits of the Jewish nation.¹ However, this mode of viewing the matter is not at all consistent with the circumstance, that this universal sway of Christ appears but slightly revealed in St Matthew's Gospel. Reported by contemporaries only, this narrative would have been a gross imposition, had it been devoid of historical truth.

Ver. 2. The words contained in the family-record which St Matthew here used, and which refer to the magi, speak of the special relation that existed between the new-born infant and the Jewish people. The βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων is not a king, so to speak, who rules over the Jews *only* (the magi, in fact, express by their symbolical acts their submission to his spiritual sovereignty), but one who *proceeds* from Jews, and who, from the midst of them, extends his kingdom. Hence the true idea of the passage, "Salvation is of the Jews" (John iv. 22), is thus very correctly expressed. As a sure sign of his birth, the magi mention the sight of *his* star (εἶδομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀστέρα). It appears,

¹ The defenders of the mythical conception avail themselves quite arbitrarily, first of one thing, and then of another, to defend their views, without any reference to its internal consistency. At one time we are told that the apostles considered the ministry of the Messiah confined to the people of Israel, and at another, that they invented fables in order to point out a universal ministry.

then, that they knew that a heavenly signal would be connected with the earthly appearance of this (spiritual) king. That great events occurring on earth had their corresponding phenomena in the heavenly world, where they manifested themselves, or made themselves visible especially in the form of stars, was an opinion widely diffused throughout the ancient world (comp., for example, *Justin. hist.* xxxvii. 2, *Sueton. vit. Caes.* c. 88); nor is it without foundation, although it was generally employed in support of superstition.¹ In the appearance of the Redeemer and his subsequent life, the idea and presentiment here expressed were fully realised. What this ἀστὴρ βασιλείας was is uncertain, and can doubtless be ascertained with difficulty. That the phenomenon here spoken of was a meteor is the most improbable supposition, although the ninth verse seems to favour that idea, because it says that the star stood over the house wherein the child was. The Platonic *Chalcidius* (Opp. Hippolyti edid. J. A. Fabricius, pag. 325) supposes this star to have been a comet, whereas the learned Bishop Mûnter of Copenhagen regarded it as a constellation, with reference to the conjunction of planets, like that which took place in the year 1825 (comp. the *Abhandl. der Acad. der Wissensch. of Copenh.* of the year 1820). It seems most probable to me that a particular star is meant,² on account of

¹ In the tract *Jalkut Rubeni* it is said: qua hora natus est Abrahamus, stetit sidus quoddam in oriente, et deglutivit quatuor astra, quae erant in quatuor coeli plagis (comp. Bertholdi's *christol. Jud.* pag. 55). These words evidently describe a constellation of planets, according to a sensible impression left on the mind of the spectators. Four stars united and formed a whole, and hence it had the appearance of swallowing up the four smaller.

² Owing to the arguments of *Ideler*, who follows the views of the celebrated chronologer Abbé *Sanclemente*, I have begun to doubt whether the star here spoken of is not in reality a conjunction of planets. The learned men just mentioned, from their respective theories, attempt to determine the year of the birth of Jesus, and prove that six years before our era an extremely remarkable conjunction of the chief planets of our solar system had taken place. Now, according to the most careful calculation of the moderns, planets at one time stood near each other, and at another withdrew, so that the stars or constellation seemed at one time to be there, and at another time they were not, a circumstance which suits the narrative of St Matthew well, and hence I am inclined to consider this hypothesis very probable. Add to this, that according to Jewish traditions (for example Abarbenel in his *Commentary of Daniel*), such conjunctions likewise took place at the birth of Moses, and other holy men who contributed to spread the kingdom of God. Comp. *Ideler's Handb. d. Chron.*

the parallel passage in Matth. xxiv. 30, where, at the second advent of Christ, there is promised likewise a *σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, as we find in the prophecy, Numb. xxiv. 17, respecting the first advent of our Lord. (In order to apply this passage to himself, the well-known false Messiah called himself *Barchochba*, i.e. son of the star.)

Ver. 3, 4. This would be fearful news to the king and the spiritual rulers of the Jews, partly, because everything great and mighty, when starting suddenly into existence, produces terror (for it is not to be supposed that all the *ἀρχιερεῖς* and *γραμματεῖς* feared the appearance of the Messiah on account of their sin), and partly, because conscience announced to Herod who had grown hoary in sin, and to the greater portion of the priesthood, who, buried in selfishness, only sought their own interest and aggrandisement, that with the appearance of the king of righteousness their *βασίλεια τῆς ἀδικίας* was coming to an end. Considering the external circumstances, which resulted in the general expectation of the Messiah entertained by the Jews at that time, it is more than probable that political hopes or fears were created in the minds of the greater portion of those who heard of a *βασίλευς τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; but we must not forget that, in the small circles of the truly faithful, a correct notion had been preserved of the spiritual character of the Messiah (comp. on Luke i. 76), and that the change of external circumstances was regarded by them merely as the consequence of his internal ministry. By *ἀρχιερεῖς* we must here understand not only the high priests [*כֹּהֲנֵי הַגָּדוֹל*] in the true sense of the word, i.e. those who were actually engaged in the performance of the high priest's duties, and those who formerly held office of high priest, but this term implies likewise the chief priests who were at the head of the twenty-four classes of priests. [For further information on this subject, comp. on Luke i. 5.] As these heads were by virtue of their office likewise members of the Sanhedrim, hence every one of them was called *Synedros ἀρχιερεύς*

vol. ii. p. 410 sqq. and the Lehrbuch (p. 428), where there is found a new calculation by *Encke*. *Keppler* long ago was of this opinion, only he fixed the conjunction according to his calculation (which, however, was hardly correct), somewhat too late.—*Ignatius* (epist. ad Ephes. c. 19) describes the star as a peculiar one, and as surpassing all others in brightness.

[John xii. 10]. The term γραμματεῖς, ספרים comprises all those skilled in the Jewish law, such as νομικὸς, νομοδιδάσκαλος, so that, indeed, every ἀρχιερεὺς was a γραμματεὺς, but not *vice versa*. As the magi had done (ver. 2), the king too inquires (ver. 4) only for the *place* (ποῦ γενᾶται) where the new king was born. The birth itself appears to all indubitably certain, a circumstance which points to a general expectation of the Messiah. The present tense (γενᾶται) need not be taken as a future; this tense here, in fact, refers to the prophecies of the Scriptures, according to which the learned were to decide, so that the meaning is: Where is the king (whom the prophets foretold) *that is born*, according to which it remains undetermined whether he, as the magi asserted (ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς, ver. 2), was already born, or would as yet be born.

Ver. 5, 6. The learned Jews, who mention Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Messiah, according to Micah v. 1, are quite right. In this remarkable prophecy, which is acknowledged by most expounders, and one which has been especially and literally fulfilled, the insignificant city (called by John, vii. 42, on this account, κώμη) is described as the birthplace of the Messiah, and a contrast, moreover, is here instituted between its earthly debasement with its spiritual glory. In the quotation here made, the evangelist neither follows the Hebrew text, nor the Septuagint, but quotes freely from memory.¹ The meiosis which, according to St Matthew, becomes apparent in the words: οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ, is contained neither in the original text, nor in the translation of the Septuagint. Yet is the deviation solely in form, for St Matthew only repeats the idea of the prophet, which is: that Bethlehem, although mean or insignificant in its exterior, is nevertheless highly honoured. (The addition: γῆ Ἰούδα, which belongs to St Matthew, refers, no doubt, to the tribe of Judah, from which, according to Genes. xlix. 10, the Messiah is to be born; the expression γῆ stands synecdochically for πόλις, as for example Jerem. xxix. 7, where ירי is rendered γῆ by the Septuagint. Comp. Matth. x. 15; xi. 24; xiv.

¹ Jerome, strange to say, observes on this passage: "arbitror Matthaëum volentum arguere scribarum et sacerdotum negligentiam sic etiam posuisse (sc. verba prophetæ), uti ab eis dictum est." St Matthew himself, in that case, must have become guilty in other passages of the same *negligentia*.

34.—For the words *ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις* of St Matthew, the Septuagint has *ἐν χιλιάσιν*, according to the Hebrew *בְּאַלְפִּים*. The Jewish nation was divided [Judges vi. 15] into families [*אַלְפִּים*] that were governed by heads [*שָׂרֵי אַלְפִּים*, *ἡγεμόνες*, Exod. xviii. 21; Numb. i. 16]. The heads of the families, then, stand with St Matthew in the place of the families themselves, and these again in the place of the cities in which they dwelt.) As a characteristic feature of him expected from Bethlehem (*נָצַח, ἐξέρχισθαι*, sig. nifying to come forth out of the loins, i.e. to be born), the Evangelist, from the manner in which he uses the quotation from the Old Testament, distinctly declares his dominion over the people of Israel. The expressions in which the Evangelist describes this dominion, seem carefully and designedly chosen to intimate its tender and merciful nature. (The term *ἡγούμενος* = *לְשֹׂמֵר*, implies more the notion of leading to an end, than that of merely determining by force; the addition *ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου*, which is not found in the Hebrew text, is perhaps taken from 2 Sam. v. 2, and inserted in this prophetic passage. The ideas of ruling and watching are nearly related, and frequently confounded; yet the term *ποιμαίνειν* expresses more distinctly the ideal character of the real governor who has at heart the welfare of his subjects, than *βασίλευειν*). The special relation of this shepherd to Israel, (*λαός* = *עַם*, the contrary of *גוֹיִם*) must be considered, moreover, partly as signifying the most direct conception of the ministry of the Messiah, (see on Matthew i. 21; x. 6; xv. 24), and partly as comprising an ample and wider extension of it over the spiritual Israel of all nations. (Comp. on Matth. viii. 11; Rom. ii. 28, 29).

Ver. 7. In order to prevent any political agitation, the suspicious tyrant observed a secrecy respecting the arrival of the magi, and the object of their journey, using, as he thought, the knowledge he had obtained only for his own purposes. After he had ascertained from his doctors the *place* in which the child was born, he also endeavoured to find out the *time* at which the birth occurred. The latter he computed (whether according to intimations received from the magi or not remains undecided) from the appearance of the star, (*ἡκρίβωσε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστήρος*). From ver. 16, therefore, one might be led to conclude, that the star had appeared some time before, (perhaps from the time in

which Jesus was conceived). The term ἀκριβῶς, see ver. 16, is = ἀκριβῶς ἐξεράζω, ver. 8.

Ver. 8, 9. Assuming an air of politeness, Herod hoped to succeed the better in deluding those unsuspecting men, and inducing them to return; but God protected them and the little child against his malice. (Πορεύεσθαι here certainly stands according to the analogy of the Hebrew הָלַךְ , but not in the sense of passing from one place to another, since the inquiry was here connected with a journey). The relation of the travelling magi to the star, as related ver. 9, is obscure. In the first place, with regard to the expression προῆγεν αὐτοὺς, it cannot from thence be concluded, that the star had disappeared and appeared again; on the contrary, the whole may be easily construed thus: the star, which they had seen rise in the east (ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ver. 2,) they discovered (as it had changed its position during its course,) in that direction in which they pursued their way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem; hence it always went before them (προάγειν taken in its proper sense) as a directing star.¹ But more difficult and obscure yet is the passage following the above, and which forms the conclusion of the 9th ver. viz. (ἐλθὼν ἔστη ἐπάνω οὐ (sc. τούτου) ἢ τὸ παιδίον, in which is expressed a movement of the star on its arrival at the end of its journey. How a star, be it a comet or constellation, can remain stationary in the celestial vault, and seem to stand over a house, cannot be conceived. A meteor of a fiery or luminous nature would explain this more easily, if this assumption implied a possibility that the ἀστήρ here spoken of was a thing of this kind. The whole description of St Matthew leads us evidently to suppose that the star here mentioned had been shining for some time. The simplest way is to consider the expression ἐλθὼν ἔστη to be an artless conception of a child-like mind, so that the usual form of inquiry after the little child is understood as being comprised in it; and to the heavenly guide remains ascribed both the issue and beginning of the journey.

Ver. 10, 11. The remark so often repeated, that the magi saw the star, (ιδόντες τὸν ἀστήρα,) cannot by any means be referred

¹ Ideler applies this (in the passage above mentioned) to those planets which approach to and withdraw from each other, which, in the constellation, seemed to form one large star only.

back to the preceding, so as to consider ἰδόντες, a pluperfect; it is better to refer the expression to the preceding ἵστη, so that the glance they cast at the star, as it accomplished, so to speak, its duty, filled them in a high degree with joyous surprise. (The expression ἐχάρισαν χάριν is the known Hebraising mode of expression; comp. for example 1 Sam. iv. 5, analogies of which, moreover, may be found in all languages. In like manner is the circumlocution of the superlative with σφόδρα [דַּבָּר] a well-known Hebraism). In St Matthew's description of the coming of the magi to the child, *Mary* his mother only is named; Joseph is completely kept out of view throughout the Gospel-history, and bears no apparent spiritual character. (Besides, the reading of εἶδον is preferable in every respect to that of ἔβρον of the text. rec.) In the activity of the magi we may distinguish two things or features,—first, the προσκυνεῖν, i.e. prostration, and then again the offering of their gifts. Both these features may be considered as being connected in such a manner as to make us suppose that the magi wished to express in the offering even their dependence; this act was to be a προσφορά, a solemn acknowledgment of the high character of the new-born infant, as it is, indeed, intimated in the prophecy of Isaiah lx. 6. Hence, the προσκυνεῖν corresponding with the Hebrew שָׁתַּחֲוֶה, as far as language is concerned, proves nothing in favour of the view of the magi, as to the importance of the little child; this term often signifies nothing but the known Eastern mode of salutation. Yet the connexion of the narrative makes it certain that the magi attributed to the child a spiritual character; and hence their προσκύνησις in connexion with the ceremonial of the προσφορά, gains a higher signification. But, as we have already observed, we must ascribe to the magi no fixed dogmatical notions concerning the Godhead of Jesus; on the contrary, we must attribute to them a presentiment and perception of a divine disposition connected *with* and established *in* him. We may say, that in this act they worshipped God, who had for their redemption created this child; but the mere child they worshipped not. With regard to the presents offered to the little child, (and its mother) we cannot conclude that the magi came from Arabia, because those presents were Arabian productions; for these articles were diffused throughout all the eastern countries as things necessary for worship, and even gold

formed a part of the usual offerings made to the gods. The opinion of some expounders, that these rich presents had to be bestowed on Mary because of her poverty, and on account of her journey to Egypt, (ver. 13,) doubtless deserves our attention. The Gospel-history shows that our Redeemer, even at a later period, committed the care of his bodily maintenance to the love of his family. (Comp. on Luke viii. 3). The expression *θησαυρός* like *אֲצִיזָה*, Deut. xxvi. 12, signifies chest, a place where treasures are laid up; the notion of the thing stored up, of the precious thing, is secondary.—*λίβανος* = *לְבָנוֹן* signifies frankincense, which is the produce of a balsamic plant of Arabia. This expression occurs frequently in the Old Testament, because frankincense is frequently mentioned in connection with sacrifices; in the New Testament this term only occurs in Rev. xviii. 13. A produce similar to the former is *σάμμινα* = *שִׁמְרָה*, which is obtained from a tree resembling the acacia, Exod. xxx. 23; Ps. xlv. 9. Frankincense and myrrh were used by the ancients also for medicinal purposes; of course this reference to the presents can find here no application whatever. On the history of the magi, in particular, comp. *Kleuker's bibl. Sympathieen*, p. 36, sqq.; *Hamann's Kreuzzüge des Philologen. Werke*, vol. ii. p. 135 sqq.

Ver. 12. We must repeat what we have already observed, that the ideas of the magi, which originated from a natural consideration of the circumstances, must by no means be confounded with the impulse they had from above, and which caused them to determine upon not returning to Herod. (The term *χρηματίζειν* signifies, in profane Greek, to discharge the duties of public business, to give response or decision,—*εἰσθαι*, to receive them. In Hellenistic Greek, this expression has the signification only in respect to a divine response, declaration, oracle; *χρηματίζειν*, to give divine commands, [Heb. xii. 25,] *εἰσθαι*, to receive them. So in the New Testament, as ver. 22, and frequently; in the Old Testament, Jer. xxvi. 2; xxix. 18. Finally, it also means to be *named*, to be *called*, comp. Acts of the Apostles xi. 26, Rom. vii. 3; which signification is quite common with profane writers.

Ver. 13, 14. As the Redeemer, in his consummate knowledge of God, did nothing and spoke nothing of himself, but by the inspiration of his Father, (John viii. 28,) so the divine efficacy was

prominent in the things surrounding him, before the completion of his knowledge. The history of Jesus, even in his childhood, is a divine history. Hence, it was from a divine impulse that Joseph took this holy child and its mother to Egypt.¹ On the appearance of the angel, κατ' ὄναρ, comp. i. 20. The term ἰσθί, ver. 13, which is the imperative of εἰμί, must not be confounded with the similar form of ὀδᾶ. The εἶναι must here be taken as in the case of הָיָה, in the sense of a lasting existence, i.e. of an abiding. The expression ὥς ἂν εἶπω σοί implies that a new phenomenon is shortly expected. The whole description of the flight expresses a speedy and secret withdrawing [νυκτός, ver. 14]. The expression τὸ παιδίον καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ points delicately to the circumstance, that Joseph here only supplied the place of a father. The place in Egypt where Jesus, with Mary, is said to have dwelt, is by tradition called *Matarea*, in the neighbourhood of which there stood the temple of Onias, (near Leontopolis) which attracted a great many Jews.

Ver. 15. The remark, that Jesus remained with his mother in Egypt until the death of Herod, is a fact of importance for chronology, since the death of Herod and the accession to the throne of Archelaus, (ver. 22,) can be determined thereby with precision. Yet, owing to the circumstance that the Evangelist has stated neither the age of the child Jesus, when his mother fled with him to Egypt, nor how long they remained there, the date of this event is altogether vague, and the passages in Luke iii. 1, 23, do not remove this vagueness. This, however, is certain, from the passage before us, that Jesus must have been born before the death of Herod; and accordingly the computation of time which we receive is fixed three years at least too late. (Comp. *Paulus* in the comment. to this passage). The researches of *Sansclemente* and *Ideler*, as we have already observed, fix the birth of Jesus six years before our era. But the Evangelist, respecting the flight to Egypt, refers to a prophecy contained in the Old Testament, namely, Hos. xi. 1. The Greek words in St Matthew vary in a remarkable manner from the text of the Septuagint; for the latter reads: ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλισα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Ἰσραήλ). In this form the passage was

¹ On the flight to Egypt, comp. the excellent sermon of *Schleiermacher*, contained in vol. 6 of his magazine. Rohr and Schuderoff, Magdeburg, 1829, p. 301 sqq.

not at all fit for the purpose of quotation; St Matthew therefore follows the Hebrew text, which has the singular (קָרָאתִי לְבָרִי). From this we see that our Greek Matthew treats the quotations with freedom and independence, which cannot be expected from a mere common translator. (Comp. § 4 of the introd.) However, considered in a prophetic point of view, this passage clearly refers to the calling back of the Jewish people from Egypt through Moses, inasmuch as the people of Israel, considered as *one* man, is called the *Son* of God, the *first-born* of God, (Exod. iv. 22; Jer. xxxi. 9). But the Evangelist refers this prophetic passage to Christ, as far as the bodily Israel is in him represented spiritually. The lot of terrestrial Israel is a type of the destiny of the Messiah, who represents the true nature of Israel, i.e. in whom all are one, (1 Cor. x. 1 sqq; Gal. iii. 28). If we consider this idea (and though it were only upon the principle that every writer must be explained by himself, i.e. by his views and principles,) as one with which the writers of the New Testament were well conversant, and quite independent of its internal everlasting truth, we then shall have at least the advantage of being able to deal in a plainer and more natural manner in our interpretations.

Ver. 16. The great delay of the magi excites the rage of the tyrant Herod; he sees himself disappointed, and therefore hopes, by an act of revolting cruelty, to destroy the child from whom he apprehends so much danger. In order to be certain that he will not be frustrated in his design, he orders all the children of Bethlehem, of two years old and under, to be destroyed. (The part of speech *ἐμπαίζειν* signifies, in the first place, to scoff, to deride; and in the second, to deceive, to delude, inasmuch as delusion sometimes involves derision. *θυμοῦσθαι*=תִּקְרָה, to be wroth, is used only in this place. The surrounding country near the town, the *ἐξῆα*=בְּרֵלִים, territories, districts, was included in the cruel mandate of Herod). The reference made to the account of the magi, (ver. 7,) in the determination of the date, renders it probable that the star appeared before the birth of Jesus, and that the magi did not arrive in the first days after the birth, (comp. on Luke ii. 40); in this case Herod might have considered it his duty to extend the period of destruction for nearly two years, in order to be the more certain. (*Διετής*, *bimus*, of two years, i.e. two years old, ἀπὸ διετούς stands for διετών, of chil-

dren of two years old and under). The fact of the Bethlehemitic massacre of the innocents is doubted by some, because neither Josephus nor any other historian makes mention of it);¹ further, because this would have been a cruelty not to be believed even of a Herod; and finally, because the motive of this act does not appear to be strong enough to justify our belief in it, since some more simple way of removing the child must have occurred to Herod. In the first place, with regard to the silence of these authors respecting an event, politically considered, so unimportant, the death of a few children of a Jewish little country town, must necessarily have appeared to them, (who, like all the ancient historical writers, regarded things in a political point of view,) as a matter of little import, and as one scarcely deserving to be mentioned; and yet this silence will be still less surprising, when we reflect that the whole transaction, in its true bearing, was, according to ver. 7, kept secret. In the second place, the murder of a few children, when compared with the horrible deeds of a Herod, disappears as a drop in the ocean; the number of the children murdered on this occasion, together with the deed itself, which has been considered by some a fearful butchery, have been falsely exaggerated; according to the nature of things, there could have been but few children under two years in so small a town as Bethlehem, and these, indeed, could have been easily removed without much noise. Lastly, the remark, that the whole transaction is based on a feeble or improper motive, inasmuch as Herod, had he wished to obtain a clue to the birth-place of Jesus, might easily have ordered an escort secretly to watch the magi; this, we must confess, is not without foundation. Yet we must carefully remember, that in ancient times there were no civil regulations and political ordinances such as those of modern days,—that the birth of the King of the Jews had necessarily to be kept secret to suit the design of the king, who believed that he could repose perfect trust in the magi,—and, finally, that incomprehensible negligencies and inaccuracies may be traced in the history of every period, which only proves that history is formed by a hand infinitely superior to that of man.

¹ *Macrobios* (Saturn. ii. 4,) mentions this event; but he confounds it with the murder of the son of Herod, a confusion which might easily arise, because people could think of no other royal offspring who could have formed the subject of Herod's persecution.

Ver. 17, 18. In this event, too, the Evangelist sees the fulfilment of a prophecy, Jer. xxxi. 15. The above prophetic passage, in its whole bearing, refers to the leading away captive of the people of Israel by Nebuzar-adan, from Ramah to Babylon, (Jer. xli. 1,) which fatal event and accident to the Israelites is represented in the lamentations of Rachel, the beloved wife of Jacob, the ancestress of Israel. This relation of the mother lamenting over her unhappy children, the Evangelist considered as referring to the murder of the innocents of Bethlehem, and as being thus renewed once more, originating, however, with a higher power, and for a higher purpose, because it was the Messiah in whose presence and on whose account this calamity occurred. Whilst commonly the name of the ancestors of the people is mentioned, here, on the contrary, the ancestress is brought forward as lamenting over those sacrificed, who fell victims in order to save the life of the Messiah, and because it is more natural in a mother to display that sympathising grief which she experiences over the sufferings of her innocent babe. Besides, the words of the quotation again vary from the translation of the Septuagint, without showing a self-dependent conception of the original text; the passage is quoted from memory. ($\Phiωνή$ = $\text{הַיָּה$, here signifies loud lamentation, cry of lamentation. The city of *Ramah*, in the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, was scarcely half a day's journey from Bethlehem, [Judges xix. 2; ix. 13,] wherefore it may be mentioned in place of the city of Bethlehem itself, since only the land of Palestine generally would be denoted by the specialised locality. Besides, Rachel was buried near this place, [Gen. xxxv. 19; xlviii. 7], and hence it appeared as though the ancestress of the people of Israel had been disturbed in her sepulchral repose by the horrors of Herod).

Ver. 19, 20. The return of the holy family from Egypt finds with the Evangelist, in like manner, a motive, viz. an especial warning to that end, and the death of the tyrant is pointed out as the cause of it. The words $\text{τιθῆναι γὰρ κ. τ. λ.}$ contain a reference to Exod. iv. 19, in which the formula ἵνα πληρωθῇ only is wanting, in order to render it perfectly parallel with earlier references to passages from the Old Testament. What is there said of Moses and his flight before Pharaoh, St Matthew here conceives to apply to Jesus, so that Moses is here a type of the Redeemer. Besides, the plural ζητοῦντες here refers to Herod, as

the representative of all the enemies of God in general. (Even the expression γῆ 'Ισραήλ—not γῆ 'Ιούδα—refers to Galilee, which was chosen by the parents of Jesus as a place of abode [See ver. 22.].—The passage ζητεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν corresponds with שׂוֹאֵף נַפְשׁוֹ (בְּקֶשׁ).

Ver. 21. The date of the return of Jesus from Egypt, it is true, is not mentioned; yet as it stands in causal connection with the death of Herod,¹ his sojourn there cannot have been of long duration; and even this circumstance sufficiently refutes the hypothesis that Jesus had obtained his wisdom from Egyptian philosophers, which indeed absolutely contradicts or destroys the idea of a Redeemer. For, Jesus must have returned to Palestine in his earliest infancy, a period in which the mysteries of Egyptian wisdom must have been inaccessible to him.

Ver. 22. Report represented Archelaus to the holy family, on their return from Egypt, as being no less cruel than his father Herod had been; hence they chose Galilee, where Antipas at the time ruled, as their future place of abode. For, Augustus having confirmed the testament of Herod, *Archelaus* was appointed governor of Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, with the title of Ethnarch (ἐθνάρχης), *Philippus* obtained Batanea and Aurantia, and *Antipas* became possessed of Galilee and Perea).² Archelaus retained his government only nine years. Augustus deposed him after the lapse of this period, banished him on account of his cruelties to Vienne in Gaul, and made Judea a Roman province (Josephus Archaeol. xvii. 10. 12; xviii. 1.) (Γαλιλαία=גְּלִיל, גְּלִילִיָּה like כְּפָר signifies circuit, tract; its ancient name when complete runs thus: מְגִלַּת הַגּוֹיִם γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων, or γ. τ. ἐθνῶν). Macc. v. 15; Matth. iv. 15; Is. ix. 1. As in this district the Gentile element mixed strongly or came in close contact with the Jewish, hence the strong peculiar character of the Jewish people appeared softened, and hence too it was that the inhabitants of Galilee were despised by the rest of the Jews. [Matth. xxvi. 69; John i. 46; vii. 52.] According to Josephus

¹ Concerning the death of Herod, comp. Euseb. H. E. i. 6, 8, and with regard to the chronology of it, see the full account and discussion in Dr Paulus's exeget. Handb. vol. i. part 1, p. 227 sqq.

² For further information on this subject, comp. the first chronological table to the Acts of the Apostles.

[B. J. iii. 2.], the province was divided into upper and lower Galilee; the former bordered on Tyre and Sidon, and abounded in mountains; and the latter on the river Jordan and the lake of Genesareth. Formerly, Tiberias was the capital of Galilee; subsequently it was Sephoris.—'EΞεῖ stands for ἐξέστη, as עָשָׂה for עָשָׂה, so often mentioned in the New Testament.)

Ver. 23. In Galilee, the parents of Jesus took their abode in the town of *Nazareth*. (The preposition ἐς must be combined with ἰλθὼν, and hence is not to be confounded with ἐν. Even when ἐν is combined with words expressing the idea of motion, or where ἐς is connected with the signification of rest, we must not suppose a change of particles, but, on the contrary, complete the notion of either the preceding or following rest or motion. Comp. *Winer's Gramm.* p. 349 sqq.) This little town of Galilee, which is mentioned neither in the Old Testament, nor by Josephus, was in the territory of the tribe of Zebulon, not far from Capernaum, situated on a hill (Luke iv. 29), a few leagues from Tabor. The derivation of the name from נָצַר shrub, thicket, has been proved by *Hengstenberg* (Chistol. vol. ii. i. 1 sqq.) as being the only one correct. *Bengel* falsely derives it from נָצַר a crown. Yet even in this choice of the town of Nazareth as a place of abode for the mother and the little child, the Evangelist sees a fulfilment of prophecies contained in the Old Testament. This he connects with the name Ναζαρεθς, which was given to our Redeemer because of his sojourn in Nazareth. But as no passage occurs in the Old Testament in which the Messiah is thus called, the sense of this reference remains obscure. Some persons have been led to suppose that a vow of the Nazarite was here spoken of, and have even suspected a pun made on the name of the town, and the נָצַר of Numb. vi. 1 sqq. But in the first place, the comparison with a Jewish Nazir is not at all consistent with the character of the Redeemer, who made not his appearance like John the Baptist in the external rigour of the law; and in the second, the Nazir is called in Greek Ναζιρεθς, more seldom Ναζαραθς or Ναζηρεθς, whereas the inhabitant of Nazareth is called Ναζαρηθς or Ναζαρεθς. (On the Septuagint comp. *Schleusner's Lexicon*.) Equally untenable is the reference made to the expression נָצַר shoot, branch, with which the Messiah, as the descendant of David, used to be designated (comp. for exam-

ple Is. xi. 1.).¹ For had this been the intention of the Evangelist, he would have quoted a definite, or positive prophetic passage, wherein this expression occurs, which is the case with all his former quotations from the Old Testament. But in that case the formula *ὡς πληρωθῇ* would have been of no use to him, inasmuch as no connection exists between the name נָצְרִי and his dwelling in Nazareth. We must therefore be guided in the reading of this passage by the concluding portion of this verse *ἐνθὲν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν*. (The reading *διὰ τοῦ προφήτου* is evidently a mere improvement, yet without any critical authority). The *plural* indicates that the Evangelist had no isolated quotation in view, but that he wished to adduce a collective quotation; yet the article compels us to suppose that St Matthew had in view all the prophets, or at least a portion of them, whom he presupposed as being known to the reader. According to this, *the* opinion becomes most probable which leads us to suppose that the Evangelist has here called into account the language used in that country, in which the term Nazarene signifies one that is low, despised. Accordingly, the Evangelist must have had in view such passages as describe the Messiah in his lowliness, as for example, Ps. xxii. Isa. liii. With this view may be connected the etymological allusion to נָזִיר (from נָזַר) signifying the despised, which is not at all improbable, if we presuppose that there existed formerly an original Hebrew copy of St Matthew. But it becomes apparent, even from these first chapters, and in a manner by no means to be mistaken, that St Matthew endeavours to represent Jesus as the Messiah foretold in the Old Testament.² Writing for Jews, his main object was to prove the connection existing between the various phenomena which took place at the birth of Jesus, and the important testimonies of the Old Testament. (On *καλεῖσθαι* comp. the comm. on St Luke i. 32).

If, at the conclusion of the first two chapters of St Matthew, we glance at the scruples raised against their authenticity, we shall find that they may be regarded as having no validity in

¹ In this manner the learned Nazarene Jewish Christians explained to Jerome the quotations. Comp. *Hieronymi* comm. ad loc. Jes. xi. 1.

² De Wette is mistaken, who contrary to his other assertions, here supposes ambiguity; first, that regard was had to the town of Nazareth and the sojourn there, and then again, that the name נָצְרִי was not left unnoticed.

the present day. For no external proofs can be adduced in support of the opinion that these chapters did not exist in the original, i.e. in the MS. Gospel of St Matthew, since it has been proved that the Gospel κατ' Ἐβραίων contained the history of the infancy of Jesus. (Comp. *my* Geschichte der Evangelien, p. 73, 76). The Ebionites, it is true, had not the first chapters in their revision of that apocryphal Gospel; but the fact that they had taken them away, proves that they originally existed. (See Epiph. haer. xxx. 13). And with regard to the internal reasons, Gersdorf has proved, in a convincing manner, (Sprachcharakt. p. 38, sqq.) that there exists an affinity between the style of writing in the first chapters and that of the following; although it must be confessed that *Fritzsche* has refuted several of Gersdorf's remarks (exc. iii. in Matth.) The only thing remaining, then, to afford any pretence for doubting the authenticity of these chapters, is the dogmatico-offensive tenor of the whole. But this is the very thing which is never employed by reasonable critical minds as a ground for so doing, since this objection can be brought forward at most to disprove the authenticity of the history herein narrated, and not against the authenticity of this portion of the Gospel, inasmuch as the Evangelist adopts, in the chapters following, the same fundamental views in which has originated that form of representation prevailing throughout the first chapters. Besides, as regard is had in what follows (comp. iii. 1; iv. 23,) to previous portions, the first chapters clearly manifest themselves as integral parts of the Gospel.¹ The very same remarks apply to the reasons stated for doubting the authenticity of the first chapters of *St Luke*. (On the literature comp. *Kuinoelii* Comm. in Luc. vol. ii. p. 232). Here, too, the external reasons are wholly wanting, inasmuch as the character of the Marcionite Gospel testifies not against it, but in favour of it, since Marcion erased, i.e. took away the first chapters which he found contained in the catholic Luke. (Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 7). Of internal reasons, none can be adduced except the wondrous nature of the history narrated in this Gospel, and which perfectly suits the character of the whole. Of the contradictions which seem to prevail between the narratives of St Matthew and St Luke in the Gospel, of the infancy of

¹ Comp. the treatise of Joh. Georg Müller, (Trier, 1830,) which contains a defence of the authenticity of these chapters.

Jesus, mention will be made hereafter; but against the *authenticity* of the first chapters themselves, no objection should be raised which is based upon the view entertained of it by our adversaries, even in case it cannot be proved, inasmuch as our opponents could likewise here only testify against the authenticity of the history narrated.

SECTION II.

ACCOUNT OF ST. LUKE.

(Chapters i. and ii.)

§ 1. PREFACE.

(Luke i. 1—4.)

The four verses with which St Luke opens his work, and which may be regarded as consisting of two parts, (comp. Acts of the Apostles i. 1,) are remarkable in more than one respect. As to the style, we perceive that the peculiar mode of writing of the Evangelist, (which is genuine Greek, as is proved by the first period,) differs much from the Hebraising style so striking in what follows, where St Luke places before his readers documents—it matters little whether they be unchanged or revised—which tradition placed in his hands. St Luke moreover informs us, that there already existed, previous to the composition of his own work, Gospel accounts collected in another manner, the confirmation of which (*ἀσφάλεια*, ver. 4,) was nevertheless doubtful. St Luke finally points out the sources from which he derived his information, the principles he laid down in the composition of his work, and the special object he thereby had in view. But the construction of the proœmium or preface suffers from a certain vagueness, which seems the more calculated to leave room for divers interpretations, in proportion as the views of the origin of the Gospels naturally affected them in various ways. For the meaning of the whole passage depends upon the manner in which the beginning of the apodosis is defined. We may begin the apodosis, with *καθὼς παρέδοσαν κ. τ. λ.* as well as with *ἰδοὺς καί μοι.*

According to the latter division, the words *καθὼς παρέδοσαν*, which are connected with the preceding *ἐπειδήπερ πολλοί κ. τ. λ.*, contain a remark respecting the *nature* of the earlier Gospel reports above alluded to; for to suppose that this remark only refers to their existence, as though St Luke himself had been unacquainted with these writings, but had only heard of them through the *παράδοσις*, is clearly improbable, on account of the very expression, *οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται*, which necessarily leads to the assumption of a tradition concerning the history of Jesus.¹ In this case, the opinion of St Luke on the nature of those earlier writings must have been favourable, inasmuch as he ascribes to himself the same sources with them, (*καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν*;) an assumption which would suit well the hypothesis according to which the *πολλοί* are said to be shorter revisions, and our Gospels detailed ones of the same original Gospel. Yet, as a censure is evidently contained against the *πολλοί* in ver. 4, where Luke promises to Theophilus, in his Gospel, an historical certainty for the Gospel-history, which, it would appear, did not exist in the works of the more ancient writers;² hence we might be led to suppose that a preference ought to be given to that division of the proposition which begins the apodosis with *καθὼς παρέδοσαν κ. τ. λ.* In that case the paradosis of the eye-witnesses would refer only to the narrative of St Luke, and his own then would appear as forming a contrast to the more ancient. Yet, here again we are disturbed by the circumstance, that in *ἰδοὺς κἀμοί*, grammatically speaking, the conclusion is indicated more positively than in *καθὼς*, inasmuch as the term *κἀμοί* forms evidently a contrast with the *πολλοί*; the change, moreover, of *ἡμεῖς* and *ἐγώ* is very striking. Hence it would be no doubt most correct to open the apodosis with *ἰδοὺς*, yet not to join the proposition *καθὼς παρέδοσαν κ. τ. λ.* to *ανατάξασθαι*, so that it might imply a description of the nature of the sources used by the *πολλοί*, but on the contrary to the

¹ *Hug* (Einl. vol. ii. p. 121, sqq.) renders the words *καθὼς παρέδοσαν*, "as they, i.e. the writings of the *παλλοί*, were placed in our hands by the eye-witnesses;" this is a mode of viewing which must stand and fall with the opinion of the learned man, viz. that the writings of the *πολλοί* are the productions of the apostles.

² Thus *Orig.* in Luc. hom. i. very correctly, quod ait *conati sunt* latenter habet accusationem eorum, qui absque gratia spiritus sancti ad scribenda Evangelia prosilierunt.

πράγματα ἐν ἡμῖν πεπληρορημένα, according to which combination then the ἡμῖν following παρίδοσαν would form an exact parallel with ἐν ἡμῖν πεπληρορημένα, and the meaning accordingly would be: After that many have undertaken to draw up a narrative of the events which with us (members of the Christian church) are considered as founded on history, as the eye-witnesses have reported it to us (to me and to all the members of the community); so I, too, have resolved, &c. Accordingly, the *events* only appear to be satisfactorily warranted by the tradition of the church; but then the nature of the *narratives* remains undetermined, and becomes moreover of a doubtful character, by the contrast which St Luke forms with the πολλοί, more especially in ver. 4. This manner of conception agrees best with the views we have endeavoured to display in the Introduction, according to which our four canonical Gospels only contain, in a state of concentration, the apostolical tradition respecting the person, life, and death of Jesus, and that all anterior writings of this kind were of a character more or less apocryphal.

Ver. 1. The πολλοί ἐπεχείρησαν διήγησιν ἀνατάξασθαι cannot well be applied to isolated writings on isolated portions of the Gospel-history (which, according to this passage, are called without much propriety Diegesis, i.e. digests), inasmuch as the singular διήγησις leads only to the assumption of connected (although more or less detailed) narratives of the whole of the Gospel-history. Nay, the term ἀνατάξασθαι even leads to the supposition that the πολλοί compiled their writings from smaller reports. But it cannot be ascertained what writings St Luke refers to; since it is highly probable that St Luke was unacquainted with our canonical Gospels (comp. § 3 of the Introduction), so we are left to suppose that the works of the πολλοί were apocryphal attempts to describe the life of Jesus, but which, for want of historical data, can be characterised no further. As a subject of the writings of the πολλοί, are named the πράγματα ἐν ἡμῖν πεπληρορημένα. As this proœmium must be considered an introduction to the entire work of St Luke (the Acts of the Apostles, in one sense, forming the second part of the Gospel), the idea here expressed embraces a period extending beyond the earthly course of our Lord's life, for it embraces the period of the development of the church up to the time in which St Luke wrote. Yet when we see the Evangelist add soon after a remark to the passage πεπληρορημένα ἐν ἡμῖν concerning the *authenticity* of the

events which occurred during the life of Jesus as well as subsequently, in the primitive church, so this is done because the nature of the events is of so peculiar a kind as to cause apparently at first sight a contradiction between their wondrous form and the authenticity. (The signification to occur, to come to pass, as applied to the term *πληροφορέσθαι*, can be maintained as little as the Hebrew *נִלְחַץ*, with which it has been compared by some persons. For *πληροφορέω* has the same signification which *πληρώω* has, and in a moral sense it signifies persuasion, to give assurance.¹ So, for example, in the language of St Paul, in which *πληροφορία* is used in a manner equal to *πίστις*, *πειθοίῃσις*. The participle *πεπληροφορημένα* is therefore = *βέβαια*, and must be connected by *ἐν ἡμῖν*; the mention made of the authorities in that case becomes a suitable adjunct to the above remark of the firm convictions of the members of the church respecting the important occurrences [which those *πολλοί* have made the subject of their writings].)

Ver. 2. St Luke then mentions as witnesses the *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται* and the *ὑπηρέται λόγου*. As the Evangelist commences his narrative with the birth of St John the Baptist and of Jesus, hence we must not confine the expression *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* to the period of the ministry of Jesus; St Luke wished to describe the whole new phenomenon from its very commencement.² The term *αὐτόπται* here, no doubt, refers likewise to Mary, the mother of Jesus, and other members of the families of whose internal history mention is made in the first chapters; of course, in connection with the subsequent history of Jesus and the church, the Apostles are in like manner included in the *αὐτόπται*. Accordingly, the term *παρίδοσαν* implies an oral as well as written *παράδοσις* (delivery, tradition), since it is highly probable that the family communications recorded in the first chapter are based on written reports. Erroneous is that view according to which the *αὐτόπται* are said to refer to the Apostles, and the *ὑπηρέται λόγου* to the associates of the Apostles; for even if *ὑπηρέτης* is used when speaking of the associates of the Apostles (comp. Acts of the Apostles xiii. 5, although the mode of reading this passage

¹ The assertion of *De Wette*, that *πληροφορέω* in this sense can be used of persons only, cannot be proved.

² *De Wette* boldly asserts that the narrative of the Gospel-history usually commenced with the entering upon office. Why? Because St Mark (i. 1) begins with it (!).

is not quite warranted), yet is this not so with *ὑπηρέτης λόγου*, (ministers of the word), sc. *Θεοῦ* (of God); this term applies to the apostles, and to all the teachers of the church in general; hence this expression denotes no new class of witnesses, but it only points out these witnesses with more precision. In one portion, i.e. in the early stage of the events which St Luke is about to record, they were merely *αὐτόπται* (eye-witnesses), but in another and later portion of them, they themselves were the acting persons, and then they bore witness of themselves. Accordingly, this whole addition refers only to the *πράγματα ἐν ἡμῶν πεπληρο-φορημένα* (things which have been fully accomplished or established among us); as to the manner in which the *πολλοί* (many) have applied these sources, St Luke, with forbearance, expresses himself vaguely; but the subsequent statement of the principles on which he acted in the composition of his writing, evidently quietly expresses the insufficiency of their compositions.

Ver. 3. St Luke renders prominent three things, in which he displays, as it were, his historical skill; the expressions *ἀνωθεν* (from above, from the first), *ἀκριβῶς* (diligently, accurately), and *καθεξῆς* (in order), here come under consideration. The first two words apply to the use made of his sources of information, the latter to the act itself of narrating. In the term *παρακολουθεῖν* (to trace or search out), is expressed the activity of following out closely in mind, and contains, as it were, the idea of a living over in the spirit the whole chain of (past) events; hence it implies an examination of and tracing out the sources. All have their concealed contrasts in the writings of the *πολλοί*. In the first place, with regard to the term *ἀνωθεν*, this refers back to the phrase of *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* (from the beginning) of ver. 2; in using these words, St Luke wished to point out and prove fully the first germs of the new phenomenon; *πάντα*, (all things) of course, must be read in such a manner as to imply whatever i.e. all things which appeared to St Luke as belonging to the description of the whole; in the selection of the facts, their respective nature was expressed as a matter of course; but *πᾶσι* (to all things) must be applied by no means to the *αὐτόπται* (eye-witnesses), for it refers to the *πράγματα* (things), on whose account only the persons were named. The expression *ἀκριβῶς* here denotes or refers to an historical inquiry of a sober nature, well ascertained, and contrasting with the inaccurate character of the apocryphal writings. Lastly, *καθεξῆς* must be considered

as applying only to chronology, as Acts xi. 4. (In the same xviii. 23 it is used with reference to a regular connection in regard to space). That St Luke wished to adhere to a chronological order, is evident from the arrangement of his work; only it cannot be applied to particular chronological statements, inasmuch as St Luke appears to have deviated from this rule in many single instances, (comp. § 7 of the introd. and the comment. to St Luke ix. 51).

Ver. 4. The object of the laying down these historical principles, was to afford an historical ἀσφάλεια, i.e. security, caution to Theophilus, who being a judge of classical literature, probably claimed a greater degree of accuracy than the apocryphal writings were calculated to display. St Luke wrote, in the first place, from the reports of eye-witnesses, and in the second, after a critical examination of these reports; he here laid, no doubt, a great stress upon the persons with whom the narratives originated, and hence the authenticity of the whole Gospel-history rests upon the spirit that inspired a circle of individuals who were connected by means of a living communication.¹ Facts, as, for example, the procreation of Jesus by the Holy Ghost, could be testified only by Mary herself; but whoever was touched by the spirit that made Mary bear this testimony, received it from her, and required no other; and, on the other hand, whoever was far from coming in contact with this spirit, received no other testimonies, and hence left this event without acceptance. The acknowledgment, therefore, of the ἀσφάλεια (certainty) of the Gospel-history, always pre-supposes the belief in the spirit of truth, and since truth and falsehood, it is unquestionable, walk hand in hand among the phenomena of human life, yet are they as diverse from and opposed to each other, as the kingdom of God and that of the world, *hence the Gospel-history, as such, cannot and never will be authenticated to him who moves in the world and its spirit, who, so to speak, smells everywhere fraud and imposition, because he is guilty of both.* To Theophilus St

¹ Osiander (in his *Apologie des Lebens Jesu*, Tübingen 1837, p. 63,) justly remarks, "What shall we say, when we see that *Strauss* does not refute the powerful antimythical sentiments expressed in the preamble of St Luke, but when he, exercising his airy dictum, weakly says, 'that St Luke could safely speak thus, unconscious as he was that he narrated fables,' degrading thus the Evangelist, who begins his narrative with so much discretion, to the rank of an indiscreet collector of fables, invented without sense or knowledge!"

Luke's statement afforded a complete ἀσφάλεια, because he was not beyond this circle of the spirit of truth, but dwelt within it. He was a member of the church, (and the first church was abundantly inspired by the spirit of truth) which is evident from the words *περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων*, (those things wherein thou hast been instructed), and hence the spirit of the αὐτόπται was likewise in him. (*Κατηχίσθαι* is the usual expression for hearing a religious discourse, comp. Acts of the Apostles xviii. 25; 1 Cor. xiv. 19; Gal. vi. 6). A communication of dogmas in the course of such *κατήχησις*, during the earliest period of the church, was, of course, out of the question, the whole instruction had an historical basis (*λόγαι*, i.e. histories, narratives). The powers of reflection possessed by the church were as yet undeveloped, and men had not then learned to form dogmas out of ideas derived from the great works of God. The apostles were contented with testifying the great facts of the history of Jesus; on this solid foundation was built the church. Mere opinions, precepts, and dogmas, would never have been able to call forth a phenomenon such as the Christian church. But the moment she had been formed, then arose within her bosom dogmatical activity, because the spirit of Christ is intended to penetrate and pervade all the powers of human nature. But if the instruction of the ancient church was historical, yet it was not merely of an unreflective nature; on the contrary, the testimony of the first servants of the word was accompanied by a power which drew all those minds that admitted it into the circle of the new life that had been created by the Redeemer, and, through the operation of this spirit, those who had received the testimony of truth became in their turn witnesses of the same great facts which were known to them, not only externally, as things that had happened, and consequently as done with, but also internally with living power, through the living Spirit that had enlightened their minds. The church thus rose entirely out of herself; nothing of a foreign character could enter her circle; the testimony of truth, together with the power of the Spirit accompanying it, had first of all to be received and adopted, and then followed the enrolment in this new sphere of life, and the belief in whatever she decreed. And thus the church is building herself up even at this day, and will continue to do so until the end of time. She requires no other warrant for the truth of the Gospel-history, than those reports of the eye-witnesses which we have before us, that are accompa-

nied, even at this moment, by the same power of the spirit of truth, as their oral narratives were beforetime, a spirit which produces in the hearts of those who receive the truth the same *ἀσφάλεια*, which the word of the witnesses of Jesus produced during the apostolical period.

The person of *Theophilus* (comp. the Acts of the Apostles i. 1,) can only be determined by what the work of Luke permits us to suppose, viz., that he was his intimate friend, and the one to whom his Gospel is addressed, as well as one acquainted with Rome and Italy, and as having been probably settled there.¹ Hence, the opinion that Theophilus, to whom St Luke inscribed his Gospel, and the book of the Acts, and the high-priest Theophilus, of whom mention is made by Josephus (Archaeol. xviii. 6, 3; xix. 6, 4,) is the same person, is most unlikely, because it is impossible to suppose the latter to have been so well known in Italy. Besides, the title *κράτιστος* (most excellent), (similar to the Latin *splendidus*) clearly points to a high post of honour which this Theophilus occupied; a title such as this was bestowed on the proconsuls of the provinces, (comp. Acts of the Apostles xxiii. 26; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 25). At a later period this title was given likewise to officers of an inferior rank. (Comp. *Hug's* Einl. vol. ii. p. 134). Although this Gospel of St Luke, with the Acts of the Apostles, are thus addressed to a private person of distinction, yet have these writings justly been received by the church into the canon, as well as the epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, because the persons to whom they were addressed, as members of the church, felt the prevailing wants, and thus what was calculated to suit them would apply equally to the rest.

§ 2. BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

(Luke i. 5—25.)

The term *ἄνωθεν* (ver. 3,) is conceived in so abstract a manner, and implies, with St Luke, so remote a period, that he begins the narrative of Christ and the development of the church with

¹ The opinion that Theophilus, signifying a friend of God, is to be regarded as a noun appellative, and as applying to every faithful reader, must be regarded as antiquated.

an account of the birth of John the Baptist. This mode of conception is based on the nature of the phenomenon which he undertakes to represent historically. The spirit of prophecy had been silent since the building of the second temple, and at a period when it seemed as if this spirit had forsaken the people, a prophet, in the true sense of the Old Testament, once more appeared, in the person of John the Baptist. Hence it was necessary that the history of John should form a portion of St Luke's narrative, inasmuch as it forms an integral part of Gospel-history. But, comparing what follows with the proemium, a remarkable change of style is apparent; for whilst the proemium is pure Greek, what follows is full of the strongest Hebraisms. This sudden change may be explained very simply, if we assume that St Luke had recourse to written sources for his historical narrative, and that he interwove them with his own work without altering them, so that he only slightly revised them. This assumption becomes highly probable from the nature of the narratives, especially of those contained in the first two chapters, as we find therein events recorded that occurred within the circle of two families, and which were necessarily regarded by them as sacred things, until the hope promised and entertained, that two descendants would come from these families, had been fully realized. But at a later period, when the great mission of the Redeemer had been consummated, and when Mary, the mother of our Lord, belonged to the number of the first believers, (Acts of the Apostles i. 14,) there was nothing more natural than that she should communicate to the church the wonderful manner in which he was conceived whom she herself now worshipped as her Saviour. The holy family had thus, as it were, unfolded itself, and the sacred events which had occurred within it could now be communicated.

Ver. 5. St Luke, commencing with the reign of Herod the Great, begins with determining the time, (comp. Matth. ii. 1,) and then directs our attention to the family which for the present he wishes to speak of. It would have been contrary to his purpose, had he, like St Matthew, supposed his reader to have had a knowledge of several points of his narrative. On the contrary, he minutely describes the persons mentioned in his writings. Zacharias and Elizabeth were both the descendants of the priestly race, just as Joseph and Mary were descendants from the house of David; and the fact that both the former

were such, contributed much to the lustre of their descendants.¹ He mentions the class to which Zacharias as a priest belonged, viz. to that of Abia. Of the 24 classes of priests instituted by David, this formed the eighth. (Comp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 10). Each class had to perform duty in the temple during one week. (Josephus in his *Antiq.* vii. 15, 7, terms them *παρτίαι*, (houses) with reference to the relation or parentage, which here was taken into account; the name *ἐφημερία* (daily order), which only occurs in this place throughout the New Testament, has here been chosen with reference to their daily service in the temple). The use of the fixed succession in the service of the temple by the 24 classes of priests, which has been attempted to be explained both by *Scaliger* (opus de emendatione temporum) and *Bengel* (ordo temporum) can afford no satisfactory result, since it is impossible to decide upon the *terminus a quo* (the starting point) of this change or succession.

Ver. 6. To the description of their family circumstances is added a statement of their personal character; both were *δίκαιοι* (just), and this not merely outwardly before men, but *ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ* (in the sight of God). The application of *δικαιοσύνη* (righteousness) to persons who act quite in conformity with the law, as, for example, Simeon, Luke ii. 25, and Lot, 2 Peter ii. 7, where the expression occurs in this sense, of course only implies that righteousness which has reference to God, and to the Divine law, as may be seen from the Epexegetis: *πορεύμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι τοῦ κυρίου ἄμεμπτοι*, (walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord blameless). For the terms *ἐντολαί* and *δικαιώματα* are isolated expressions, and statutes of the *νόμος* (law), which they endeavoured to perform without the least pharisaical hypocrisy. But if here and in other places (Matth. x. 41; Luke xv. 7,) the expression *δικαιοσύνη* is applied to certain persons, it offers no contradiction to the statement of Rom. iii. 20, in which passage the law is said to bring the knowledge of sin. The *δικαιοσύνη τοῦ νόμου* (righteousness of the law), is never absolute or positive, (Gal. iii. 10); but in its application to those who strive after it, a longing after the accomplisher of the things they stand in need of, that is, repentance and faith, is always implied. Thus it was that in

¹ *Josephus* (vit. c. 1,) observes: *παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμήριόν ἐστι γένους λαμπρότητος.*

Zacharias and Elizabeth the longing after the σωτήρ (Saviour), was created by their δικαιοσύνη. (On δικαιοσύνη, and the expressions connected with it, comp. the complete definition in Rom. iii. 21.

Ver. 7. With the δικαιοσύνη of Elizabeth, the want of the blessing of a progeny, as was the case with Sarah, formed a contrast. Elizabeth was barren (στειρά, comp. Luke xxiii. 29; Gal. iv. 27,) and they both were young no longer.¹ The age of Zacharias, however, must be viewed in a relative sense, i.e. with reference to the institutions of his office; for according to Numb. viii. 25, no one could perform the duties of a priest above the age of fifty. And when we consider the Eastern custom of marrying early, Zacharias and Elizabeth, from having been so long childless, might well have felt disposed to give up the hope of having any issue, although the age of Zacharias was far from being great. (καθέρ is found only in the writings of St Luke, and signifies partly *siquidem*, as here and xix. 9. Acts of the Apostles ii. 24, and partly, *so far, according as*, see Acts of the Apostles ii. 45; iv. 35. The expression προβέβηκώς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, (advanced into years)=בָּנָה בְּיָמָיו Gen. xviii. 11, and al. freq.

Ver. 8, 9, 10. After these preliminary observations, which are designed to acquaint the reader with the circumstances of the family whose history the Evangelist is about to record, there follows the special narrative of the event which was connected with the birth of John, and which commences with an ἐγένετο (it came to pass) ὅτι (=וְהָיָה). According to the regulations of the Jewish liturgy, or mode of divine service, incense was burnt on the altar twice a-day, at the morning and evening sacrifice, (Exod. xxx. 7, 8). The priest who had to perform these duties, brought the vessel containing the incense (θυμιάμα, censer) into the holy place, (ναός (temple)=מִזְבֵּחַ, the fane or edifice itself in distinction from ἱερόν, which included all the courts, see Matth. xii. 5; John ii. 14,) which was surrounded by fore-courts, in which the people collected for prayer, and where they awaited the return of the priest. The 24 classes of priests followed each other in cycles, i.e. at stated periods, yet the priest who

¹ Similarly circumstanced were the mothers of Isaac and Samuel. Admirable is the following remark made thereon in the Evang. de nativ. Mariae (Thilo vol. i. p. 322): Deus cum alicujus uterum claudit, ad hoc facit, ut mirabilis denuo aperiat, et non libidinis esse quod nascitur, sed divini muneris cognoscatur.

had to perform duty was elected daily (ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμιάσαι, to offer up incense) by allotment from among the priests that constituted each class. This had become the law of usage for the office of priesthood, (ιεράτεια is different from ιεράτευμα, priesthood, 1 Pet. ii. 5, and ιερωσύνη, priest's office, Heb. vii. 11, xii. 14). The management of this office, then, devolved upon Zacharias at a time when it was the order (τάξις) of the course of his class. (*Εναντι (before the presence of) ver. 8, which in the New Testament is only to be found in this place, is preferable to the more common ἐναντίον; it is=ἐναντα of Homer. In the Old Testament ἐναντι is found in the Septuagint, in the passage Job xvi. 21).

Ver. 11. It is possible that Zacharias, owing to this circumstance, entered the temple for the first time, and that the peaceful solitude reigning therein exercised on him a powerful effect; these possibilities cannot make the sober expounder of the text doubt that the narrator wishes to see the angel's appearance regarded as a fact; nor can they induce the faithful judge of this narrative to require the minutiae of daily life for the richest moments of which our being is susceptible. At a period when the everlasting Word was made flesh, (John i. 1, 14,) beings of a spiritual world, who under less momentous and remarkable circumstances would have been unnecessary, entered this mortal world. (Comp. Matth. i. 18; ii. 8). Some minor features appear in this vivid description, which have contributed to place the historical fact on a surer foundation, and are not favourable to the mythical view. The angel appeared to him on the right side of the altar of incense. (A description of the θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος, (altar of incense) is to be found in Exod. xxx. 1; it stood in the sanctuary, and must be carefully distinguished from the great altar of burnt-offerings, which was in the fore-court. Heb. vii. 13).

Ver. 12—14. Although the apparition conferred a blessing on Zacharias, yet he was troubled, and fear fell upon him when he saw it, as was often the case under similar circumstances. (Comp. Luke i. 29; Rev. i. 17; Dan. x. 7, 12). *On the one hand*, this fear at the direct perception of apparitions from the invisible world, expresses a feeling of sinfulness; without sin, man would perceive in the Holy One a being related to himself, and instead of fear, he would only experience sentiments of joy and rapture; *on the other hand*, however, this fear expresses a

susceptibility and clear perception of the contrast existing between the pure and impure or unholy; and herein is displayed the noble part of this fear. Hence it is that this fear of God is never regarded as a thing worthy of blame, but on the contrary, it is the beginning and the end of all wisdom (Eccles. i. 16; Isa. ix. 2). This fear of God, which is inseparable from love, (comp. Rev. i. 17, where, from fear, the disciple of love sinks to the ground at the sight of the Beloved,) must hence not be confounded with φόβος (fear, terror, affright), which is the result of the πνεῦμα δουλείας (spirit of bondage). This latter implies a terror of God, which is absolutely blameworthy; the former may be aptly termed fear *of* one's self, or fear *for* God. (Comp. Rom. viii. 15). This sacred fear is calmed and allayed by the heavenly messenger who delivers his joyful message. (The word δέησις denotes that Zacharias had not as yet entirely given up the hope of progeny. Γενῶν stands here = τίχτειν, as in Gal. iv. 24). With the promise of a son, his name is likewise announced (Ἰωάννης = יְהוֹנָתָן, Jehovah is gracious,) (as in Matthew i. 21,) and therein is expressed its spiritual signification. Whereby he shall cause joy, not only to his parents on account of his physical existence, but likewise to all pious souls, on account of his spiritual manifestation and ministry, which, as well as his birth, are comprised by anticipation in this name. (Αγαλλίαςις, joy, gladness, rejoicing, is a stronger expression than χαρά.—Γενέσσι, must here, as well as in Matth. i. 18, be preferred to γενήσσι, which is the common reading.

Ver. 15. In the words that follow, the angel next proceeds to lay open more distinctly the peculiar *character* of the promised one, then his *ministry*, and finally, his position with relation to the Messiah, in whom all the hopes and expectations of the faithful in Israel are centred. With respect to his peculiar character, it is first declared, in a general way, that he is to be endowed with a spiritual importance. (Μέγας = מְגַד, i.e. great in power and influence, as Hos. i. 11. The additional phrase ἐνώπιον κυρίου (before or in sight of the Lord), prevents us from attributing to it an earthly meaning—it bears a purely spiritual character). This particular form of devotion or godliness is next pointed out, that is, that he will live a Nazarite. (Comp. this passage with Matth. ix. 14;—the word Σίκερα = סִיכָרָא, rendered in English *strong drink*, is used for any intoxicating liquor; this passage

refers to Numb. vi. 3 sqq.) The utmost severity of legal observance appears concentrated in the law of the Nazarite, and to represent this was John, who forms, as it were, the key-stone of the Old Testament, called. This form of godliness is not to be considered the most exalted, because the heavenly vision assigned it by preference to John; it was rather conferred on him because it alone was altogether suitable to his calling and destination. The wisdom of God comprehends each individual person according to his individuality, and the circumstances in which he is placed; it neither requires all of the individual, nor does it impart to him all. With the negative *ὀὐ πινῶ* (not to drink), is conjoined the positive *πλησθῆναι πνεύματος ἁγίου* (to be filled with the Holy Ghost). That hereby we are not to understand an endowment with natural talents, is sufficiently evident from the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, which always implies a supreme heavenly vital power, not belonging to fallen man in his natural state. To conceive the efficacy of this spirit in John, (as indeed in all the prophets of the Old Testament,) would not be difficult at all; the addition, however, *ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς* (even from his mother's womb), is obscure. (*Ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς* = *מִבֶּטֶן מִחֶמְרָא*, as, for example, Ps. lxxi. 6.—The word *ἔτι* does not correspond directly with *ἤδη*; on the contrary, it must be taken in the proper sense, inasmuch as the writer imagines the efficacy of the Holy Ghost to have lasted from the womb, or from the time of conception up to a later period). Considered in itself, the expression *ἐκ κοιλίας* might signify only "from early youth," but in connection with ver. 44, we are forced to acknowledge that the writer was without doubt impressed with the existence of an efficacy of the Spirit in the Baptist *before* his birth. But this idea becomes completely intelligible, when we reflect, above all, that the words *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* of our passage are not to be taken as though they were identical with that Holy Spirit, the first communication of which is connected with the full accomplishment of the work of Jesus. (Comp. John vii. 39). The expression here denotes the divine power, in so far as it is one Holy Spirit, as, for example, Ps. li. 13; Isa. lxiii. 10. Furthermore, as the Divine Spirit exerts its power even in the *κτίσις* (creature) Rom. viii. 19, so have we no hesitation in the assumption of his efficacy in the elect *before* their birth. In a similar manner may be explained the efficacy of baptism in unconscious children, without our receiving it, nevertheless, as being identical with regeneration.

Ver. 16. The ministry of this new prophet, who, after a long silence of the prophetic spirit, had been promised, is henceforth described as one confined to the people of Israel, to warn them from destruction, and to awaken to repentance. (The word *ἐπιστρέφειν*, to cause to turn, = *שׁוּב*, refers to *μετάνοια*, repentance, which forms the centre of motion of the labours of St John, Matth. iii. 2). A new, a more exalted element of life, John could not impart—for this *he* was not sent; but the *πνεῦμα*, as contained in him, was to awaken mankind to a knowledge of the higher aim of human life, which should lead man again to God. His mission, like that of the Redeemer himself, (Matth. xv. 24,) was confined to Israel, not as though all the other nations were to be excluded from the benefits of God, but only because that which was effected in the central-nation of mankind was to prove beneficial to all. Here, however, it was necessary first to construct a hearth or altar to contain the sacred fire; hence it was that the ministry of the messengers of God was concentrated on this people. But that isolated members of this nation, and not the whole nation itself, would be gained through him, is clearly expressed in the passage, πολλοὺς τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψει (he shall convert many of the children of Israel). In the same manner as when God is called *Θεὸς αὐτῶν* (*their* God), as in the Old Testament the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so is therein contained no exclusion of the other nations (Luke ii. 31,) from the blessings of the true God, nor indeed any limitation of those blessings to Israel alone, but rather, indeed, the idea, that God's dealings with the several nations are as little uniform as his dealings with various individuals. The Bible knows no Hebrew national God, but it only teaches that it has pleased the one true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, to assign to Israel an especial relation to himself, (Lev. xx. 26; Eccles. xxiv. 13), and the like in Israel to certain chosen individuals. Hence the angel, it is true, here speaks in a *human* and Jewish manner, i.e. in such a way as could be understood by human beings and Jews; yet he speaks at the same time in a *divine* spirit, inasmuch as these are clear determinations of the divine will to which his words refer, and with which they connect new divine ordinances.

Ver. 17. The appearance of the new prophet is finally connected with the Messiah, according to the declaration of Mal. iv. 6, from which passage it would appear that Elias is to precede the appearance of the Messiah, exercising a preparatory minis-

try, (Matth. iii. 7 sqq.) The term *προέρχασθαι* (to precede or go before) involves the idea of preparation. But through the words *ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου* (in the spirit and power of Elias,) this passage obtains a character explanatory of the prophetic words. St John was not to be regarded as the Elias risen, but only as his type; endowed with a similar spiritual nature, he was to exercise a vicarious ministry. Whilst *πνεῦμα* (the spirit) is to be received in the more general acceptation, and marks the special government of the higher spiritualizing principle of life, the term *δύναμις* (power) goes more into the particulars. For in Elias was revealed the manifestation of divine *power*, specially that of reproof, which stands in him personified; this very spiritual character is that of St John. (Comp. the cont. with Matth. xi. 14). The reference of the angel to a scriptural text is, on the whole, parallel with the citation of the Scriptures where Jesus is tempted by the *διάβολος* (Matth. iv. 6); these passages are unjustly had recourse to, to dispute the historical narrative of the appearance of the angel. Such phenomena, it is evident, are not to be regarded as though they implied that the angels quote from Scripture, but that these things are contained in the Scriptures, because it has been thus predetermined in the heavenly world, to which the speaking spiritual persons belong. The connection of the idea with the words of Scripture must be considered as the clothing of it in a form more familiar and comprehensible to the human mind. Angels, then, do not cite texts of Scripture, *because* they wish to derive from the Bible argument or authority for their speech, but because the ideas made use of are found in the Bible, inasmuch as they contain a truth which is valid both in heaven and on earth. This verse, moreover, is highly important on account of the expression *ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*, (before him) which grammatically refers back to *κύριον τὸν Θεὸν αὐτῶν* (the Lord their God), [ver. 16,] so that God himself is understood as having appeared under the form of the Messiah. Had this idea been foreign to, or contradicted the doctrine of Scripture, we then could try the experiment of interpreting it otherwise, (for example, that *αὐτός* = *אני* signifies the Messiah, that universally recognized, the chosen one); but since the Old Testament points him out already, (Isa. xl. 3, 5; Jer. xxxiii. 6; xxxiii. 16; Joel iii. 26; Mal. iii. 1,) and since the New, (John i. 1—14,) clearly designates him in a dogmatical form, hence the interpreter must confine himself to the simple

connection of the words. It was the exalted calling of the Baptist to bring to the Lord of lords, who revealed himself thus openly and visibly in Christ, the hearts of all those who through sin had become alienated from things divine. The concluding words of ver. 17 have been freely considered in connection with Mal. iv. 6. The Septuagint, which in essentials follows the Hebrew text, translates this passage: *ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρός πρὸς υἱόν, καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ* (who shall turn the heart of the father to the son, and the heart of man to his fellow-men). The words, accordingly, only say, that he will abrogate the alienation of hearts, and bring back love and peace. But according to the expression used by St Luke, the second part of the passage: *ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπειθεῖς ἐν φρονήσει δικαίων* (to turn the disobedient to the wisdom of the just,) apparently obtains another meaning. But if we consider the term *ἀπειθεῖς* as implying children, and *δίκαιοι* fathers, the idea will be, nevertheless, the same; he shall exercise upon the people a great moral influence, put a stop to the gross outbreaks of sin, awaken an earnest striving after *δικαιοσύνη*, (righteousness) and thus call into existence a *λαὸς κατεσκευασμένος* (a people in a state of preparation), the characteristic of which must be regarded as the sense of the necessity of redemption. (*Φρόνησις* here is closely related with *σοφία*, [חָכְמָה,] (wisdom) though not identical with it; it is *בִּינָה* (understanding or prudence) in the noblest sense of the word, so that ungodliness appears as the true folly, and godliness as the true prudence, [Matth. x. 16].—*Ἐν φρονήσει* in connection with *ἐπιστρέψαι* must again be so understood, that the verb implying motion comes at once into connexion with the preposition implying rest.

Ver. 18. The promise of a son made by the angel was not to preclude Zacharias from the bodily union, i.e. cohabitation; the birth of Christ was effected in a different manner from that of St John. With the latter a parallel is found in the Old Testament in the birth of Isaac. The faith of Abraham, however, forms the strongest contrast to the unbelief of Zacharias. Of Abraham it is said: *οὐ κατενόησε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἤδη νεκρωμένον*, Rom. iv. 10 (he considered not his own body now dead). Zacharias looked upon his age (and his long barren conjugal life) with a doubtful mind. Hence it is not the caution with which the father of St John proved all things for which he is blamed, but

it is his unbelief;¹ he was firmly convinced that the vision in the temple beside the altar, and which filled his heart with a holy fear, was a heavenly one, yet he nevertheless gave room in his heart to unbelief. The fault lay not in the words of his question, but in the feelings from which they emanated. (The question of Mary *sounds* as one springing from doubt, and yet she was filially faithful, Luke i. 34. The supplication for a sign (אִתִּי, σημειόν) as a confirmation of the promise is never looked upon as wrong (comp. Gen. xv. 18, where Abraham asks, אֵיךְ יָדָעִי = κατὰ τί γινώσκωμαι τοῦτο (whereby shall I know this?)); on the contrary, the not asking of the same is punished under certain circumstances. (Is. vii. 13). The supplication, therefore, of Zacharias for a sign, is complied with; but on account of his unbelief, he receives a sign which is at the same time a punishment.

Ver. 19. The heavenly messenger discovers himself in his exalted glory, as it were, in order to legitimate himself, and for the correction of the unbelieving Zacharias. He calls himself *Gabriel* (גַּבְרִיֵּאל, Dan. viii. 16; ix. 21; i.e. man of God, representing the creative power of God). The remarkable circumstance of the angel assuming a Hebrew name is no longer so, and in fact loses that character, when we properly consider the signification of names. The name is nothing but an expression corresponding with the internal being of him who bears it. Hence, in so far as beings of the spiritual world are endued with certain or definite natures, so have they likewise their names, and whether these names be Hebrew, or under other forms of human speech, depends entirely upon circumstances. Herein is to be found, at the same time, the key to the question, why the names of angels appear only at a later period of Hebrew literature, namely, that it must have been by far easier to form the general notion of a world of spiritual beings, than to render prominent the individual character of the beings dwelling in this loftier world; but as soon as this took place, names could be called into

¹ Such an expression of unbelief at such a time must not be considered as proceeding from reflection and design; on the contrary, we must regard it as an involuntary expression of the internal state of the soul. In moments such as these, the innermost nature of the soul becomes manifest; it then becomes apparent whether belief or unbelief dwells at the bottom of the heart. Hence, the event had on Zacharias himself the effect of perfecting him in his spiritual life.

existence describing their nature and character. Besides, the distinct individuality of one class of angels is expressed by the addition *παρεστηκώς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ* (that stand in the presence of God). (Comp. this with Matth. xviii. 10.) It is natural for man to suppose that such gradation of beings as universally pervade the visible creation must be likewise applicable to the higher spiritual world. Hence, in the doctrine of the Zend there appear likewise various degrees of angels; the seven Amschaspands are considered as being nearest to the Divine throne.¹ That these representations are based on truth, is proved from the Scriptures, which show us angels standing in the immediate presence of God (Is. vi. 1 sqq.), long before there existed any intercourse between the Jews and the Persians. The descriptions contained in Dan. vii. 9 sqq.; Rev. iv. 1 sqq., are evidently based upon the idea of a gradual distance from God occupied by beings of the spiritual world, and a position modified in importance thereby.

Ver. 20. The punishment imposed on Zacharias for his unbelieving speech, is speechlessness (the passage *μη δύναμενος λαλῆσαι* (not able to speak) is merely an epexegetis of the term *σιωπῶν* (silent or speechless) for *κωφός* (dumb), an expression which is used in ver. 22); but as a mitigation of the punishment, and as a sign or guarantee for the promise made, the angel fixes at the same time the term of his recovery. (The expression *ἀπ' ὧν* (therefore, because), Luke xii. 13; xix. 44, corresponds with the Hebrew *לְכֵן*, Deut. xxviii. 47, as well as with *לְכֵן*, Jerem. xxii. 9.—*Εἰς τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῶν* (in their time, or season) must be understood, "according to the succession of time in separate instants;" first must occur the birth of the child, and then he afterwards must prove himself the promised one.)

Ver. 21, 22. The priests, according to later traditions, are said not to have remained long at prayers in the temple, lest

¹ Hence we find in the Persian government, which formed a prototype of the heavenly order of things, *seven* princes of the empire who stood nearest to the throne of the king (Esther i. 10, 14). The supposition, that the Jews derived their doctrine concerning the angels from the Persians, is contradicted not only on general grounds (comp. Matth. viii. 28); but likewise by the circumstance, that the Jews had only *four* throne-angels. (Comp. *Buxt. lex. talm.* p. 86.) But, it is true, they had besides the number *four* likewise the number *seven*. (Comp. the texts cited with Revel. iv. 5, 6.)

they should excite the fear of some calamity having happened to them in the temple, which would have been looked upon as a national calamity, the officiating priest being regarded as the representative of the nation; hence it was that the stay of Zacharias in the temple, although in itself of no long duration, already caused this excitement in the people. The remark concerning their perception of his having had a vision (*ὁρασία* = *הַרְאָה*) does not refer to his silence, but probably to his whole appearance, which may have betrayed a powerful excitement, which, inasmuch as he came out of the temple, was immediately ascribed to some spiritual cause. The opinion of the people, thus loudly expressed, Zacharias confirmed through signs (*αὐτὸς ἦν διανεύων αὐτοῖς*), he beckoned, or made signs, unto them.

Ver. 23, 24. At the expiration of the week during which the class of priests to which Zacharias belonged had to perform service, he returned to his dwelling, and his wife became pregnant. During the first period, however, of her pregnancy, she lived in retirement, in order to remove every doubt concerning it. (In the New Testament, it is true, *λειτουργία* never signifies a public ministration, as from *λεῖτρος* = *δημόσιος* (of or belonging to the people or state), yet it is used when speaking of external services, as Phil. ii. 30; 2 Cor. ix. 12. This expression ordinarily denotes sacred service, as Heb. ix. 21, and is likewise applied to matters purely spiritual, as Phil. ii. 17, *λειτουργία τῆς πίστεως* (service of faith).)

Ver. 25. The happy mother gratefully acknowledges the Divine blessing in her state of pregnancy. Childlessness, according to the views entertained in the Old Testament, involved ignominy (Is. iv. 1; Hos. ix. 11, 12), wherein is clearly expressed the idea of things external; but in the New Testament there predominates the idea of a spiritual agency, by which all things corporeal are placed in the back-ground. (*Ὅτι* introducing the direct subject is frequently used in the language of the New Testament in the sense of the Hebrew word *כִּי*, comp. Exod. iv. 25; xviii. 15. In the sense of *ἰστίδω* (to look upon) is used *ἰδέσθαι* (to see) and *ἔρχεσθαι* (to visit), i.e. to direct the countenance towards some person or thing as a sign of grace; signifying the reverse of this *ἰστίδω* occurs in the Acts of the Apostles iv. 29. This is also frequently the case with *ἔρχεσθαι*.)

§ 3. ANNUNCIATION OF THE BIRTH OF JESUS. MARY VISITS
ELIZABETH.

(Luke i. 26—56.)

St Luke appears to be here in his narration more exact in point of chronology and topography than St Matthew; hence we are able by his aid to complete and rectify the narrative of St Matthew. Through the passage *ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ*, "in the sixth month," which refers back to ver. 24, we obtain no unimportant éclaircissement respecting the age of Jesus in relation to that of St John; the notification, however, that the annunciation took place in Nazareth is made also in Matt. ii. 23. Mary (or Joseph) had no doubt estates in Nazareth as well as in Bethlehem, and for this reason St Luke (ii. 39,) calls Nazareth *πόλις αὐτῶν*, "their city." (Concerning Nazareth and Galilee comp. Matth. ii. 22, 23.—*Μνηστεύεσθαι* = *ἔγγαμ.* "to be betrothed," comp. Deut. xxii. 23).

Ver. 28, 29. The revelation, which follows, of the most delicate secret, is executed with so much naïveté and refinement, and yet without any admixture of a single uncalled-for reflection, as to vouch for the exactness of the fact to every mind susceptible of truth, and to permit its perversion into profane notions, only by doing violence to the narrative. The messenger of a higher world introduces himself to the humble, child-like Mary, with a heavenly salutation: *χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη*, "hail, thou highly-favoured one." (*Χαριτώω*, "to endue with [spiritual] grace," only occurs in Ephes. i. 6, and in Christian writers of a later period, as, for example, Libanius). The expression has no reference to any self-created holiness and excellence in Mary, but it refers solely to her election. The Lord had chosen her even from among the line of her ancestors, that she might become the mother of our Redeemer; she could not have foreseen, in her child-like innocence, the exalted purpose for which she was destined, and considered herself unworthy of this highest degree of happiness which could fall to the lot of a daughter of Abraham. Hence, whilst *κεχαριτωμένη*, "highly-favoured," refers entirely to her spiritual condition, the passage following, *εὐλογημένη ἐν γυναιξίν*, "blessed among women," has reference to the announce-

II

ment of her destination, which may be completed by *εγενήθης*,¹ "thou art become." The signification of this salutation, (*ποταπός*, "what kind or manner," is used qualitatively as well as quantitatively, Matth. viii. 27; 1 John iii. 1), and the appearance of the heavenly vision, (on *διεταράχθη*, "she was disturbed or troubled exceedingly," refer to i. 12) plunged Mary into a state of musing, because she was unable to apply what she had heard to herself. (Concerning *διαλογισμός*, "reasoning, ratiocination," *διαλογίζεσθαι*, "to reason, discourse," from *λογος*, "word," = *νοῦς*, "mind or reason," refer to ii. 35).

Ver. 30, 31. The further execution of the charge commences with a comforting *μὴ φοβοῦ*, "fear not, be not alarmed," (L. i. 13) and the promise or assurance of the favour of God. The idea of *χαρις*, "grace or favour" (= *יְיָ, εὐρίσκειν χάριν* = *יְיָ נִצָּחַ*) "to find favour," even here involves the free will of the Divine declaration of love, which does not appear to depend or be conditional on anything contained in, or emanating from herself; hence we find expressed in it the pure election of grace, which admits of no possibility of the existence of merit belonging to the creature. With the announcement that Mary would become a mother is joined, as in Matth. i. 21, the direction respecting the name to be bestowed on the child.

Ver. 32, 33. The character of the expected child of God is depicted in terms of boundless grandeur, as above, i. 16, 17, when speaking of that of St John.² He appears as *υἱὸς ὑψίστου*, "Son of the Highest," (St John as *δοῦλος*, "servant") and as a ruler over the house of Jacob, to which belonged St John himself. (Concerning the term *μέγας*, "great," refer to ver. 15, and for further particulars respecting *υἱὸς ὑψίστου*, "son of the highest," to the context, i. 35. The expression *ὑψιστος* corresponds with the Hebrew *יְיָ לְיָ*, "most high," Gen. xiv. 18. *Καλεῖσθαι*, "to be called," is used sometimes with reference to untrue and empty speaking, with which is contrasted the supe-

¹ The term *εὐλογεν*, "to bless," like *בָּרַךְ*, has a double meaning, according as it is used to denote the position of a high being towards a lower, or, on the other hand, that of a lower being towards a higher. In the former case it signifies to bless, and in the latter to praise, to bless, which presupposes a being blessed.

² Comp. *Theremin's* incomparable sermon (Kreuz Christi vol. i. 2. Sermon) on the words: "He shall be great!"

riority of truth and reality; but it is used likewise partly in an appellative sense, so far as it is a correct description of the thing or being, and in this latter sense it is [like קָרָא, "to be called"] synonymous with *εἶναι*, "to be," only with the accessory notion of existing as a recognized being. This signification, which stands in connection with the use of *ὄνομα*, "name," = שֵׁם is often met with, as, for example, ver. 35, 76; Matth. v. 9, 19, and elsewhere freq. The former signification is prominent in ver. 36, and elsewhere freq.) With regard to the dominion here insured to the promised offspring, we shall find it closely connected with the person of David. The main passage on which this is founded is 2 Sam. vii. 13, sqq. In its real literal sense it refers to Solomon, but who is conceived, at the same time, as a type of the true Prince of Peace. The prophets thus treated the passage long ago. (Ps. lxxxix. 5; Isa. ix. 7; Jer. xxxiii. 15, sqq.) For, the dominion of this expected *βασιλεύς*, "king," is described as an everlasting one. The indefinite passage, *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, "for ages, or for ever," the Septuagint give it, 2 Sam. vii. 13, 16, *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, "for ever,") more clearly defines the passage: *οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*, "there shall be no end," so that the dominion of Jesus is here represented, in the true sense of the word, as an everlasting and endless one. This idea leads at once to a correct conception of the limitation of the Messiah's *βασιλεία*, "kingdom," to the *οἶκος Ἰακώβ*, "house of Jacob," which is here so prominent. The dominion, unlimited by time and eternity, cannot possibly be conceived as limited by political boundaries. Hence the special reference to the house of Jacob must be viewed as Luke i. 16; and the people of Israel (as Matth. ii. 6,) must here be regarded as the type of sanctified human nature gathered into the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah (John xi. 52).

Ver. 34. Mary, in these memorable words, expresses her doubts with child-like innocence; she knew no man, i.e. she lived with no man as his wife, (*γινώσκει*=יָדָע, "to know") hence she could not become a mother. According to the whole appearance of Mary's speech, it *might* have emanated from unbelief; the words, at least, do not express her belief; yet, taken as a whole, they speak in favour of the view that Mary did believe, but only that she wished to know how this promise could be accomplished. Such inquiries and doubts, proceeding from a faithful and child-like mind, are therefore not censured.

Ver. 35. The angel then, at her request, discloses to her that the Son of God, whom she was called upon to bring forth, would be conceived in her maiden womb in a pure and chaste manner. This sublime mystery the heavenly messenger expresses in words of deep signification. In the first idea, i.e. in the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε*, "the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee," the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, "Holy Ghost," here again implies, as in i. 15, the divine essence or being in general, which according to its nature is holy. For, as the procreation of Jesus, according to his physical existence, is here the question at issue, the creative agency of the Holy Ghost, in the true sense of the word, is incompatible, and can form no connection with the fundamental view of the Trinity according to which the Holy Ghost exercises his ruling powers in the known moral world.¹ The absence of the article speaks in favour of this view; *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, it is true, has assumed the nature of a proper noun, yet the article could not be wanting in *δύναμις ὑψίστου*, "the power of the Most High," if the third person of the Deity was to be denoted. In the passage *ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε*, "shall come upon, or rather, shall be brought over thee," furthermore, is contained, most probably, an allusion to the description of the creation of the Macrocosm, (Gen. i. 2, wherein the Septuagint translates *תהוֹמָה*, "hovering," *ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος*, "was brought over the waters,") of which the creation of the Microcosm in the first man is a prototype, which has its antitype in regeneration (John iii. 5, 8). The first part of the verse is explained more accurately by the second. *Δύναμις ὑψίστου* here corresponds with *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, and points to the correct conception of it, as that of the creative power of God (*רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים*, "the spirit of God," Gen. i. 2). The passage *ἐπισκιάσει σοι*, "shall overshadow thee," however, forms the explanatory antithesis of *ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε*, "shall come upon thee, or be brought over thee." The notion of screening, protecting, (according to the analogy of the Hebrew *קַמַּח*, "to lay or rest upon"), as applied to *ἐπισκιάζειν*, is quite out of the question; the

¹ Were we to regard the reference made to the third person of the Godhead in a literal sense, it then would follow, moreover, that the Holy Ghost is the father of Jesus Christ; but this is a mode of expression which the church has justly never approved of, inasmuch as the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, but not that the Son takes *his* origin from the Spirit. God the Father is the Father of Jesus, both as to his Divine and human nature.

connection evidently leads to the idea of procreation. Hence, it would be best to regard the Hebrew words פָּרַשׁ כְּנָפָיִם, "to spread the two wings," (Ruth iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 8,) as signifying to spread the wings (of a garment), to envelope, to overshadow,¹ by which is indicated euphemistically conjugal union, i.e. cohabitation. The expression perhaps contains likewise a distant allusion to the term מְרֹחֶפֶת, "hovering *as with open wings*," Gen. i. 2; רָחַף, as is known, signifies "to hover over," and has its parallel in פָּרַשׁ כְּנָפָיִם, "spreadeth abroad the wings," Deut. xxxii. 11. The whole idea, therefore, of this remarkable verse, is no other than this, that Mary would become a mother without connection with man; the pure chaste power of the creative Spirit of God will be the procreating agency. Hence, the appearance of the Redeemer among mankind is represented as a new and immediate act of divine creation, and the transition of sinfulness to him from sinful humanity is thus refuted. But in so far as this act of creation did not exclude entirely the substance of human nature, which was owing to the relation existing between Mary and Jesus, our Redeemer, although free from sinfulness in his principle of life, shared, nevertheless, with the human race, the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός, "weakness of the flesh," (2 Cor. xiii. 4,) a feature, upon which was based his faculty of suffering, which, in its turn, formed the necessary condition of the whole work of the Redeemer.² In *his* assuming human nature, he purified humanity altogether. The referring of the promised progeny to the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, "Holy Ghost," renders it necessary that he himself should be an ἅγιον, "holy one," (the addition ἐκ σοῦ, "of thee," to γεννώμενον, "shall be born," has its origin, no doubt, in the transcribers, to whom the idea appeared as being incomplete;

¹ The cherubim too, who with their wings spread overshadow the ark of the covenant, signify the active Divine presence. Exod. xxxvii. 9; Numb. ix. 18, 22. (Comp. *Suiceri* thes. vol. i. p. 1175.)

² Had Jesus been begotten in the usual way, together with a general sinful nature, there would have been in him likewise the *Necessitas moriendi*, "inevitable subjection to death;" unless born of a human mother, the *Impossibilitas moriendi*, "incapability of dying," would have been his. According to this view alone, the narrative contained in the Gospels fulfils all that is demanded by the idea of a redeemer. Born a man, the Redeemer bore a veritable human life, but similar to that of Adam *before* his fall, with the *Possibilitas tentationis et mortis*, "possibility of temptation and death," but which became hereafter through his victory an *Impossibilitas*. (Comp. the context with Matth. iv. 1 sqq.)

for the designed omission of the words no tenable ground can be adduced,) and as such he is called *υἱὸς Θεοῦ*, "Son of God."

Here, as in *υἱὸς ὑψίστου*, "Son of the Highest," the expression undoubtedly refers to the *human* nature of Christ; because he is born, as to the body, from Mary, in whom he was conceived by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, he is called the Son of God. That we must suppose the word in ver. 32 as having the same *physical* signification, is evident, partly from its connection with ver. 31, and partly from the designation of David as *πατήρ*. Passages such as Mark xiii. 32, Heb. v. 8 (in which, however, *υἱὸς* stands alone), seem in like manner to belong to this place. Hence Jesus is called here *υἱὸς τ. θ.* in the same sense as is also Adam, in Luke iii. 38, inasmuch as he received his existence in a direct manner from the hands of God; the first and the second Adam form a parallel likewise in this respect. But both form a contrast to the *υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, "sons of men," who, as the descendants of the fallen Adam, bear the impression of the fallen one (Genesis v. 3). On the contrary, when Jesus is called *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, "*the Son of man*," (with the article, which is seldom omitted, as in John v. 27), this name is then very nearly synonymous in physical signification to the name *υἱὸς τ. θ.*, as given above. It refers to the human nature of our Lord, but in such a manner that this human nature is viewed, or conceived in its ideal existence. The expression has its root in the Old Testament, which in several remarkable passages (which form the foundation of the Rabbinical dogma of Adam Kadmon) transforms humanity, i.e. connects it in its ideal with the Divine being. (Comp. 2 Sam. vii. 19, 1 Chron. xvii. 17, Ezech. i. 26, Dan. vii. 13, x. 16, with 1 Cor. xv. 45 sqq.) Hence, is likewise ascribed to the *υἱὸς τ. θ.* that intimate unity with the Father and the heavenly world (John iii. 13), as well as all praise and glory, without reference to his abasement (John v. 27, Matth. xxvi. 64, Acts of the Apostles vii. 56). But as the apostles *never* call him by this name (except in the Gospels this name *only* occurs in the Acts of the Apostles vii. 56, with special reference to the *bodily* manifestation of our Lord), and Jesus, on the contrary, when speaking of himself, makes use of it, hence, it is probable that his object in so doing was to render himself more distinctly human in the eyes of those among whom he dwelt, and to place, *at the same time*, before their eyes the ideal of human perfection. Men have thought in modern times

to concede to the name *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, "the Son of man," merely the signification of a common name of the Messiah; yet this view is, for this reason, very untenable, because the people, in that case, would have called Jesus so sometimes,¹ or because a false Messiah might have appropriated to himself this name. It is probable that there were but few enlightened men among the people who received the name *בֶּר אָדָם* "Son of man," in the true sense of those prophetic passages, according to which it contained the idea of a first man, of an *ideal* of mankind. The most usual name of the Messiah which was in use among the people at the time of Jesus was *ὁ υἱὸς Δαβὶδ*, "the Son of David." By this name our Lord was usually addressed by those who solicited his aid, and thus acknowledged his aiding power; and the Redeemer himself refers to this name as being so fully received and recognised that he bases his arguments upon it, and therefore demonstrates to them the high importance of the Messiah (comp. Matth. ix. 27; xii. 23; xv. 22; xx. 30, 31; xxi. 9, 15; xxii. 42, 45). The reason why this name became so current as the designation of the Messiah was partly because the prophecies of the Old Testament declared, in a particularly explicit and distinct manner, that the Messiah was to issue from among the posterity of David, whence the prophets often simply put David for the Messiah (Is. xi. 1, 10; Jerem. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15, 21; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; xxxvii. 24, 25; Ps. lxxxix. 4, 21); but partly also that David appeared to the Jewish mind the bright ideal of a ruler over his people, under whom their dominion was extended far and wide; the use of this name, therefore, coincided with the prevailing popular notions of the Messiah which were circulated among the Jews. But in order not to favour these, our Lord abstained entirely from the use of this name whenever he had occasion to speak of himself, and endeavoured rather, by the use of the obscure expression *υἱὸς τ. ἀ.*, "the Son of man," to direct the inquiry concerning the prophetic import of the Messiah to another point; for although this name was no current one, yet, on account of the well-known prophetic passages in which it occurs, our Lord could presuppose it as intelligible to the better portion of the nation. It is, however, invariably used in the New Tes-

¹ This name, it is true, is found in the apocryphal book of *Enoch*; but there is no doubt that it has found its way to it only through Christian associations. John xii. 34 shows how unknown this name was to the Jews.

tament in a sense entirely differing from the *physical* one, in which the expression υἱὸς τ. θ. "Son of God," occurs in the passages Luke i. 32, 35 (wherein the article is wanting). In a *meta-physical* sense this expression ordinarily denotes the eternal existence of Christ which he has with his Father, and likewise his relation as God to God, as the manifestation of the hidden God. The name ὁ υἱὸς τ. θ., as given in the Old Testament, does not express this idea, for in passages such as Ps. ii. 7,¹ 2 Sam. vii. 14, the reference to his appearance on earth is predominant. Nevertheless, although the name be wanting (as for example in the expression βασιλεία τ. θ., "the kingdom of God"), still the idea itself is widely promulgated throughout the Old Testament. It presents itself even in Genesis (comp. *Steinwender's* diss. *Christus Deus* in V. T. Regiom. 1829, wherein the passages from the historical books are collected), and afterwards frequently in the prophetic writings (Is. ix. 6, 7; xi. 1, 2; Micah v. 1; Jerem. xxiii. 6; xxxiii. 16; et freq. In the apocrypha see Wisd. vii. 25 sqq.; viii. 3; Eccclus. xxiv. 4 sqq.) In the adaptation, meanwhile, of the name υἱὸς τ. θ. passages such as Psalm ii. 7 probably exerted at a later period an essential influence, inasmuch as the various applications which the expression is capable of were not properly felt and understood. Moreover, we find the name in the New Testament in many places; indeed, while Jesus prefers to call himself υἱὸς τ. ἀ., the apostles mostly use the name υἱὸς τ. θ. As a υἱὸς τ. ἀ., our Redeemer descends to an equality with the human species; but men, by calling him υἱὸς τ. θ., raise him above themselves. Yet our Lord frequently calls himself (as in St John) likewise υἱὸς τ. θ., or by the impressive and significant υἱὸς. But the supposition that the name υἱὸς τ. θ. was among the Jews a common designation of the Messiah, without implying a deeper meaning, will scarcely be believed by those who consider, *in the first place*, that the common and rude mass of the Jewish people regarded the Messiah only as a distinguished person, who had been chosen thereunto by God by free preference κατ' ἐκλογὴν, "according to election." (Justin. M. dial. c. Tr. pag. 266 sqq.) According to this view, names such as ὁ Χριστός, "the anointed

¹ The expression, בְּנִי אֵתָהּ, "thou art my Son," Ps. ii. 7, does not, as appears from ver. 6, refer to the eternal procreation of the Son by the Father, but has only reference to the installation of the Son as governor of the world.

one," βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, "King of the Jews," υἱὸς τοῦ Δαβὶδ, "Son of David," and others such, were more appropriate. Again, had the name been one so common, no one would have been surprised at Jesus calling himself so (John v. 18 sqq.; x. 33 sqq.) *Lastly*, we nowhere find that a false Messiah ever called himself the Son of God. Texts such as John x. 33 sqq., xix. 7 sqq., clearly prove that the people looked upon it as presumptuous even in the case of the Messiah himself. This view is only plausible on account of the connection of the name υἱὸς τ. θ. with Χριστός in a few passages of the Gospels; but when we consider these more closely, it then becomes apparent that no such conclusion can be drawn from them as that this name was commonly used at the time of Christ as synonymous with that of the Messiah, and hence that the same ideas were connected with it, which were usually applied to the name of the Messiah. With regard also to the passages in which υἱὸς τ. θ. is found in connection with Χριστός, we must distinguish well all such passages in which it is *preceded* by Χριστός from those in which it is *followed* by it. In the former (as for example Matth. xvi. 16; John vi. 69 (*Griesbach's* reading Text. rec. is ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, "the holy one of God;" xi. 27; xx. 31) ὁ τ. θ. contains only a clearer definition for the comprehension of the Χριστός. Jesus was considered as the Χριστός by his disciples as soon as they had joined him (John i. 42), but it was only after a continued intercourse with him that, by the revelation of the Father, they received the idea of the Son of God appearing in the person of Christ (Matth. xvi. 16). Again, when the high-priest asks Christ whether he be the Christ, the Son of God, then this question has no reference to the prevailing popular notions, but only to that which Christ had declared of himself, and it was on account of these declarations concerning himself that the people said, *If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross* (Matth. xxvii. 40). But the speech of the centurion (Matth. xxvii. 54, and the parallel passages) has reference to the heathen mythology. The case certainly seems different with those passages in which υἱὸς τ. θ. has the precedence, of which, however, there are very few, as for example John i. 50, ix. 35, comp. with ix. 17. But that nothing can be adduced even from these passages in support of the assertion that the expression Son of God was but a common name of the Messiah, is clearly proved by the special exposition of them each with its own context. (Comp. the comment. on the passages

above quoted.) There then only remain the passages Matth. iv. 3, 6; viii. 29, with their parallels, wherein Jesus is addressed as *υἱὸς τ. θ.*, as he is elsewhere, as *υἱὸς Δαβὶδ*. Yet, these passages only occur in the history of the temptation, or have a reference to those possessed of demons, and hence it is more than probable that these passages ought to be understood as implying that it was only the superhuman demoniacal power that was capable of discerning Jesus in his Divine nature and dignity. We must admit, therefore, that *υἱὸς τ. θ.* denotes, indeed, the Messiah,¹ that is *in so far* as he was born of the substance of the Father, and hence, that whoever called him thus either acknowledged him as such, or blamed him for declaring himself such. Finally, as regards the relative significance of the name *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* as applied to Christ in particular, and the same name as applied to the human race in general, it must be observed that *υἱοὶ Θεοῦ*, or *τίκνα Θεοῦ*,² "sons of God, or children of God," is used in a twofold sense, which corresponds with both significations as implied in the expression of our Redeemer. It has a reference in the first place to the physical existence of men; they are called *υἱοὶ τ. θ.* in so far as God (mediately) is their Creator. This signification is nevertheless seldom applied; but Ephes. iii. 15, John xi. 52, and Mal. ii. 10, belong nevertheless to this place; besides, even in passages of the Old Testament, as for example Is. lxiii. 16, Deuter. xiv. 1, there prevails a reference to the redemption. This reference is likewise apparent in

¹ This mode of argument removes the scruples raised by *Schleiermacher* (*Glaubenslehre* vol. ii. p. 707), who says, that the expression Son of God denotes not *only* the Divine nature, but the *entire* Christ both as to his Divine and human nature. Passages such as 1 John i. 7, show, it is true, that the physical and metaphysical acceptance meet in this expression, since the Scriptures are, generally speaking, far from the Nestorian view of separating the two natures. Yet, the expression *Son of God* denotes the entire Christ, in so far as he is born from eternity out of the essence or being of the Father. *Son of Man*, on the contrary, denotes the entire Christ, in so far as he represents the *ideal* of humanity.

² *Τίκνον*, "a child," is never used when speaking of the person of Christ, but *παῖς*, "a child, or servant," indeed is (Matth. xii. 17; Acts of the Apostles iii. 13, 26; iv. 27, 30). But this expression forms a parallel not so much with *υἱὸς*, "son," as with the Hebrew עֶבֶד יְהוָה, "servant of the Lord," which is so frequently applied to the Messiah, especially in the latter part of Isaiah (comp. the Acts of the Apostles iii. 13). *Τίκνον* could not be used of Christ, because this expression implies the idea of a thing undeveloped, whereas *υἱὸς* implies the notion of manly power and activity.

very many passages in the New Testament (as for example 1 John iii. 1, 2; v. 2; Rom. viii. 14, 16, 17; ix. 8; Gal. iii. 26, and more freq.), and denotes the new birth which, as a new act of creation, converts again into children those who through sin had become alienated from God. This view corresponds with the deep meaning of the name *υἱός τ. θ.* in so far as it belongs to the Redeemer. His eternal procreation out of the essence of the Father finds its counterpart in the new birth, and with reference to those spiritual children of the One Father, our Redeemer calls himself the First-born among many brethren (Rom. vii. 29; Heb. ii. 11). The Son of God from eternity walked on earth in *time* as the Son of Man, in order to raise the children of men from earth to heaven, that so, being the children of God, they might be like unto him, and be made partakers of the Divine nature (2 Peter i. 4; 1 John iii. 2).

Ver. 36—38. Like Zacharias, Mary too receives a σημεῖον, "sign," "אֵימָה," but a favourable one (i. 20). As we here see announced to Mary from above the destiny of Elizabeth, so in like manner do we see announced to Elizabeth that of Mary (see ver. 41); such interference was necessarily called for under such extraordinary circumstances, and for this very reason we may presuppose similar occurrences for the solution of many difficulties, where we do not find them distinctly stated. (Comp. Luke ii. 38.)—The conversation concludes with the general remark, that Divine Omnipotence accomplishes and carries out his plans notwithstanding all apparent impossibilities. The words correspond with those of Genes. xviii. 14, where they are spoken with a similar reference to Sarah. This idea, expressed in its widest and most universal acception, must be received, moreover, in so limited a sense, that every veritable or positive (ἐῖμα=דָּבָר) thing may be represented; for everything negative or contradictory is as such no ἐῖμα, and so with God, though he is God, ἀδύνατον, "impossible."—The faithful, child-like, and humble Mary, confides herself to the hands of God; she yields willingly to her destiny, in order to accomplish the Divine decrees. The birth of our Lord in the flesh thus became likewise her act of faith; the belief of Mary thus made amends for the unbelief of Eve. (Ver. 36. For γήρα, used for γήραι [from γήρας, the nominative of which is γῆρας, old age], and which is the usual reading, Griesbach has γήρει for γήρει, from γῆρος. [Comp. Winer's Gramm. p. 63.]—The passage οὐκ "not,"—πάν ἐῖμα "every thing," in ver. 37, is

a pure Hebraism, the expression corresponds with the Hebrew *לֹא כֹל דָּבָר*. "not all [every] thing").

Ver. 39. According to the hint given to her by the angel (ver. 36) Mary visited Elizabeth, with whom, as a relation, she was probably already long ago acquainted. The residence of Zacharias, which was left unmentioned, or which was not clearly pointed out in ver. 23, is now rendered more distinctly. He lived in the mountainous district of the land of the Jews (*ὄρεινή*, "hilly," scil. *χώρη*, "region,") in a sacerdotal town called Juda, and according to a more correct mode of writing, *Ἰούδα* or *Ἰούρρα*. In the Old Testament it is called *יִרְמָה*, Juta, (Josh. xv. 55; xxi. 16), which is rendered by the Septuagint in the former place *Ἰράν*. The reading *Ἰουδαίας* is in either way a correction; if we retain the form *Ἰούδα*, the name of the town, then, must be completed. In that case Josh. xxi. 11, would form a suitable parallel, inas-much as Hebron is there spoken of as: *Χεβρών ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ἰούδα*, "Hebron in the mount of Judah." (The words *μετὰ σπουδῆς*, "with haste," correspond with the more usual term *σπουδαίως*, "hastily." We meet with it in this sense likewise in the Septuagint, Exod. xii. 11; Ezra iv. 23; Dan. vi. 19.)

Ver. 40, 41. The opinion, that a previous communication of the occurrences had not taken place between the two women, evidently forms the foundation of the narrative. As Mary had no knowledge of the circumstances of Elizabeth previous to the communication of the angel (ver. 36), in like manner was Elizabeth ignorant of what had happened to Mary, and of her destinies. Both were guided and instructed by the Spirit. Indeed, according to the date, there would be no time for making communications. As Mary received the visit of the angel in the sixth month after Elizabeth had conceived (ver. 26, 36), and as she abode with her for three months (ver. 56), she therefore must have gone to Elizabeth immediately after the annunciation. Joseph, no doubt, as yet knew nothing, and only first learned these circumstances from Mary's advanced state of pregnancy. (For further information on this subject see Luke ii. 39.) Being betrothed, she could, with the permission of her bridegroom, tarry a few months with a distant relation without any impropriety. The violent agitations of mind of the mother were shared by the child whom she harboured in her womb, and a spirit from above filled the soul of the happy mother, who saw

realised the boldest hopes of her heart. Like Hannah, the mother of Samuel, she must have frequently dedicated to the Lord the child which she had so fervently prayed for (1 Sam. i. 11). Concerning πνεῦμα ἅγιον, "the Holy Ghost" see i. 15. (Σκιρτάω=κινεῖσθαι is especially used to denote a leaping movement, which is the result of joy; in other words, a leaping for joy. The Septuagint renders Mal. iv. 2 σκιρτήσεις ὡς μοσχάρια, "ye shall leap as little calves;" and in Gen. xxv. 22 it is likewise used of the leaping of the foetus in the womb.)

Ver. 42, 43. Elizabeth, as the older one, here blesses Mary and her child (καρπὸς κοιλίας, "fruit of the womb,"=פֶּתֶן בְּרֵךְ), as John the Baptist at a subsequent period, although the inferior, had to baptize our Lord. Yet, although blessing, Elizabeth considered herself nevertheless inferior to Mary, since she says: καὶ πῶθεν μοι τοῦτο κ. τ. λ., "and whence is this to me," &c.¹ (Καί, "and," used interrogatively is full of emphasis, comp. Mark x. 26.)—Most worthy of remark is the passage which occurs in the speech of Elizabeth: ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου, "the mother of my Lord." We may turn it as we please, we shall never be able to demonstrate the propriety of calling a child as yet unborn κύριος,² but by the supposition that Elizabeth, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, as were the prophets of old, perceived like them the Divine nature of the Messiah, as the mother of whom she saluted Mary. The passage is thus parallel with ver. 17, wherein, in the course of the speech of the angel, the same idea becomes apparent of the incarnation of God in the form of the Messiah,

¹ The passage ἵνα ἔλθῃ, "that she should come," involves the idea of a foregoing cause and command, "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" In it she perceives another proof of Divine favour.

² Dr Paulus is of opinion that κύριος, "Lord," here stands merely instead of βασιλεὺς, "King," and that Elizabeth here only expresses her faith in Mary's giving birth to the Messiah. But since even Augustus and Tiberius dared not to style themselves κύριος, "Lord," hence we see how unusual it was at that time to apply this title to kings. And hence can it least of all be believed that pious Jews, who were wont to apply the term Lord to God alone, should have used this expression in such a manner. And if we are unable to trace any written family records in these accounts concerning the history of the infancy of Jesus, so it may easily be supposed that, in consequence of a more perfect knowledge obtained at a subsequent period concerning the dignity of Jesus, an expression such as this may have been put into the mouth of Elizabeth; yet, as to her discernment, sufficient guarantee exists in her having been enlightened through the Divine Spirit from above.

and where κύριος is used emphatically, as corresponding with the Hebrew אֲדֹנָי or יְהוָה, "my lord, or Jehovah."

Ver. 44, 45. The first person in the speech of Elizabeth changes towards the conclusion into the third person; she speaks in her prayers of Mary, and praises her *faith*. The latter she recognises very correctly in the Holy Ghost as being the fundamental cause of the humble disposition of Mary's mind, and as the condition of her happiness. The word τελείωσις, "fulfilment," refers to the fulfilment of all that had been promised concerning her son, ver. 32, 33, and with regard to the nature of πίστις "faith," it is clear that it denotes here no dogma of any kind, but that it is intended only to describe that disposition of soul thus resigned to the will of God, in which Mary found herself on the annunciation of the heavenly message. The term πίστις "faith," signifies a susceptibility of the effects of Divine grace, and their reception into the heart (comp. the context with Matth. viii. 2).

Ver. 46, 47. Let us suppose Mary as living and acting according to the Holy Scriptures, the promises of which, no doubt, had often affected her mind, and called forth the wish that God might help his people and send the Redeemer, nay even the desire to become the blessed mother of the Messiah, an expression, then, of such enthusiastic joy as now broke forth will present nothing remarkable; possessed of the knowledge of becoming a partaker of the highest degree of happiness, she gives utterance by prophetic inspiration to her gratitude for the mercy she has experienced, and for the fulfilment of the promises made by God, (which she conceives in her prophetic spirit as already realised,) in the to her so familiar words of Scripture, especially drawn from those of the song of thankfulness uttered by Hannah under similar circumstances (1 Sam. ii. 1—10). Regarded in such a manner, these poetical effusions will lose that striking or remarkable character which they seem to present at first sight. *Schleiermacher* has already seized upon them, in order to demonstrate the probability that the history of Christ's infancy has been composed as a mythos. Were these poetical effusions indeed poems of an independent character, they, in that case, might no doubt leave room for conjecture and doubt; but as they are mere reminiscences from the Old Testament, which we must presuppose as being fully known to the persons here acting, so it is by no means difficult to imagine, or any way inappropriate,

that they should have been here inserted. The hymn which follows (ver. 46—55) is, moreover, usually called the *magnificat* (from the initial word in the Vulgate); an excellent practical exposition of it was left to us by Luther (*Μεγαλύνω* = *הַגְדִּיל* "to magnify," Acts of the Apostles x. 46, xix. 17; Phil. i. 20). The simultaneous or combined use of *πνεῦμα*, "spirit," and *ψυχή*, "soul," for the distinction of which compare the context with 1 Thess. v. 23, depicts the whole internal being; the powers of the Spirit, both high and low, as excited with joy (comp. Ps. ciii. 1, *נַפְשִׁי* "my soul," and *כָּל-קִרְבִּי* "all my inner parts." The reference made to an external *σωτηρία*, "safety, preservation," (according to ver. 52) cannot certainly be wholly excluded from the passage *ἐπὶ Θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρι μου*, "in God my Saviour;" Mary, without doubt, looked for the exaltation of her own race of David. Yet the deep religious sincerity which is expressed in the song of praise does not permit us to concede a predominance to this idea, or to look upon it, indeed, in a rude and sensual manner, especially since we are naturally bound to presuppose (according to ver. 35) the enlightenment of Mary by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The entire fullness of the blessings comprised in the appearance of the Messiah lay spread before her, and hence she applied the *σωτηρία* "salvation," (internally, i.e. spiritually as well as externally) likewise to herself. In Christ, God was likewise *her σωτήρ*, "Saviour," and as she *now* was called upon to conceive in her womb, i.e. to give birth to the *Son of man* bodily, in like manner she was called upon at a subsequent period to conceive in her heart the *Son of God* spiritually (comp. with Luke ii. 35).

Ver. 48—50. As to the use of the word *ταπείνωσις*, "humiliation, lowliness," which next occurs, the religious conception of this passage will not lead us to suppose that the external political lowliness of Mary, who was, indeed, of the race of David, is here particularly alluded to; it rather expresses a humble conviction of internal poverty, which is unable to discover in itself any prerogative whatever, on account of which such happiness should become her portion (*Ταπεινός*, "low," = *עָנִי, אֶבְיֹן*, "humble, poor," comp. Matth. xi. 29. It is closely related to *πτωχός*, "poor, indigent," Matth. v. 3). Yet it would not be well to exclude entirely a reference to external circumstances; as a *consequence* of the Divine mercy that had fallen to her share, Mary perhaps conceived or ex-

pected likewise external splendour. But if this circumstance has been made use of for the purpose of demonstrating and accounting for the mental progress of the Redeemer, and to insinuate that herein may be traced those hopes of Messiahship which Christ had imbibed with his mother's milk, so is it clear that his glory would thereby only be enhanced, inasmuch as he spiritualised the doctrine of the Messiah in the highest degree. The opinion, moreover, that the Messiah would exercise a mighty influence likewise upon external affairs, was not at all unfounded—the error contained in this popular view consisted only in their wish to receive the outward benefits without the inward. If the people of Israel had permitted him to work in them a true change of heart, he would have gained in that case a mighty influence over external circumstances. But even if Mary, at solitary moments, was tempted by vanity, a circumstance very natural, inasmuch as she was not altogether without sin, yet her views with regard to the Messiah were entirely Scriptural. According to the Old, as well as the New Testament, the most complete revolution as to outward things is to be the result of the ministry of the Messiah in the spiritual world; Christ becomes the King of kings, and the highest earthly power henceforth becomes his footstool.—In the next place, Mary gives prominence to the single idea of the fame which posterity would accord to her as the mother of the Messiah, a prophecy which has been realised in a wider sense, and to a greater extent, than her wish ever implied. (Γενεά=גֵּרָה, generation, spoken of the men of any age, i.e. those living in any one period; πᾶσαι γενεαί, “all generations,” the entire succession of future generations). She very correctly perceived, by the light of the Spirit, the importance of the birth of the Messiah, who was destined for all times and circumstances. (The expression μεγαλεῖα,=גְּדֻלּוֹת, “great things,” according to Ps. lxxi. 19. Ὁ δυνατός=גִּבּוֹר, “the mighty one.”) The words of Mary, which until now had solely a reference to herself, change towards the conclusion of ver. 49: καὶ ἅγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κ. τ. λ., “and holy is his name, &c.,” and assume a more general character; yet are the subsequent ideas expressed in them always to be considered as having an especial reference to the case in question. (The φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, “those who fear God,” as opposed to the unbelieving world, are, notwithstanding all appearances, the everlasting object of his care. Ὀνομα,

"name," signifying identity in general, is rendered more distinctive by the addition of the definite term ἅγιον, "holy."

Ver. 51, 52. The contrast to the blessing of mercy conferred upon the ταπεινοί, "lowly"—φοβούμενοι, "fearers," in favour of whom the term ἔλεος, "mercy," here is made use of, is formed by the severity of God in his chastisement of the ὑπερήφανοι, "proud, arrogant." Both the blessing bestowed on the humble, and the curse awarded to the proud, Mary perceives through the Spirit as being connected with the birth of the Messiah. The passage καθαιρεῖν δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων, "to put down rulers from (their) seats," comp. with ver. 32, 33, makes it not improbable that Mary expected also the secular dominion of her Son. Like the prophets, she combined in her mind, as dictated by the prophetic spirit, the kingdom of Christ, which is to be revealed hereafter, with his first appearance on earth. But even supposing that she did harbour the thought, that the dominion of Christ would be outwardly manifested, a notion based in every respect on Scripture (comp. Matth. xxiv.), still her views must necessarily and essentially have differed from the gross materialist views of the great mass of the Jewish people. (With regard to the formula ὑπερήφανοι διανοίᾳ καρδίας, "the proud in the imagination of their hearts," so it must be observed that in biblical anthropology καρδιά, "the heart," is considered the seat of life, and of the most general and most direct functions of life, hence it is the seat of the feelings, and of the desires and ideas arising out of these feelings, whereas σπλάγχνα, "bowels, viscera," denotes feeling in the pure pathological sense. From this may be explained the frequent combination of διάνοια, "understanding, intellect," and the synonymous terms λογισμός, διαλογισμός, "reasoning," νόημα, διανόημα, "thought, reflection," ἐπίνοια, "a device, contrivance," with καρδιά. This, however, does not imply that the διάνοιαι, "imaginations," are actions of the καρδιά; on the contrary, they are actions of the νοῦς, "mind," or λόγος, "reason;" but that the incitements to these actions of the νοῦς have their source within the καρδιά. (Compare the context with Luke ii. 35; Matth. ix. 4.)

Ver. 53, 55. Ideas of a congenial character are expressed in similar figures; poverty and hunger, riches and satiety, are relative ideas. An appeasing of human longing, and a diverting from mere empty curiosity concerning Divine things, both these things are contained in the reception of the Messiah. Mary, in her views of the Messiah, nowhere betrays an erroneous notion,

inasmuch as the ultima ratio of his appearance in Israel, connected with the predictions of his prophets, is to be explained according to i. 16. Concerning Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, “to support, help, assist”=βοηθεῖν, “to assist,” comp. the Acts of the Apostles xx. 35; Eccclus. ii. 6.—According to Exod. iv. 22, Israel is spoken of as παῖς Θεοῦ, “the Son of God,”¹ if παῖς does not stand *here* rather as=עֶבֶד “servant.” The words, ἕως αἰῶνος “for ever,” must not be connected with μνησθῆναι, “to remember, remembering,” but rather with σπέρμα, “seed,” in order to denote or intimate that the blessing of the Messiah was hereafter to take effect on mankind in general, through the noble members thereof represented by the σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ, “seed of Abraham.” The dative cases here must be considered as Dativi commodi. The construction μνησθῆναι τινός τινί, “to remember or be mindful of such a person or thing, to such an end or intention, is classical.”

Ver. 56. After three months Mary returned; as it is probable that she had not been married previous to her journey (see Luke ii. 39), the expression οἶκος αὐτῆς, “her own house,” leads to the supposition that she was domesticated in Nazareth.

§ 4. ST JOHN'S BIRTH AND CIRCUMCISION. THE PROPHECY OF ZACHARIAS BOTH CONCERNING HIM AND OF CHRIST.

(Luke i. 57—80.)

Ver. 57—59. Very shortly after the departure of Mary for Nazareth, Elizabeth gave birth to the promised Son,² who received his name according to very ancient usage (Genes. xxi.

¹ The author does not here mean to say that the words “παῖς Θεοῦ” are actually made use of in the text above quoted. The words of the Septuagint, Exod. iv. 22, are Υἱὸς πρωτότοκός μου Ἰσραήλ, “Israel is my first-born son;” in the original Hebrew, בְּנִי בְכֹרִי. “My son, my first-born.” The intention of the author is only to show that Mary had Scripture authority for calling her nation παῖς Θεοῦ, “the son or servant of God.”—T.

² The ancient church of Alexandria solemnised the birth-day of the Baptist on the 23d of April (28 Pharmuthi). At a subsequent period, both the Greek and Latin church adopted for it the 24th of June, which was evidently done in consequence of the Scriptural decision that Elizabeth's conception took place six months sooner than that of Mary. Hence they counted backwards six months from the 25th of December.

3, 4), on the day of his circumcision, which took place, according to the Mosaic institution, on the eighth day after his birth (Lev. xii. 3); and her kindred and neighbours shared the joy produced in this happy mother by the son of her old age. (Μεγαλύνειν ἔλεος, "to magnify mercy,"=מגדל חסד, Genes. xix. 19.)

Ver. 60—62. Agreeably to the wish of those present at the circumcision, the child should have received a family name; but the mother (in conformity with the command mentioned in ver. 13) insists on the name *John* being given to him. In this state of perplexity they appeal to the father for his decision. The term ἐνύειν, "to make signs to," does not here entitle us here to suppose deafness; this expression, in the first place, does not preclude a combination with words, and, in the second place, men easily accustom themselves to treat dumb persons as deaf. (Αποκρίνεσθαι, "to answer,"=הקב, according to a well-known form of expression frequently occurring in the Gospels, signifies not only to reply to a question previously put, but it denotes in general to begin to speak. For ἐν τῇ συγγενείᾳ, "in or among thy kindred," of ver. 61. The Codd. A, B, C, L, read ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας, "of thy kindred," a mode of reading to which *Lachmann* has justly given the preference.—In the question τὸ τί ἄν κ. τ. λ., "as to how, &c. &c.," τὸ stands as connecting the whole passage containing the question with the main verb. We find it similarly used in Mark ix. 23.)

Ver. 63—65. The father decides in favour of the mother (ver. 60), and writes down the name *John*. (Λέγειν, "to speak or say," in connection with γράφειν, "to write," has only the general signification to declare, to express a will, as in Luke iii. 4, and in the phrase λέγει ἡ γραφή, "the writing says," which so frequently occurs.—Πινακίδιον=γραμματίδιον, signifies a writing tablet.) According to the prediction (ver. 20), the punishment which was imposed on Zacharias for his unbelief was revoked as soon as the child was born; he speaks once more, and employs his tongue, in the first place, to proclaim the praise of God, who had manifested himself so gloriously in the fulfilment of his promises. (Inasmuch as ἀνεψύχθη, "opened," seemed an unsuitable adjunct to γλῶσσα, "tongue," a few codd. of less worth have interpolated the words ἐλύθη, "was loosed," διηρθρώθη, "made pliable," by means of which what goes before no doubt is made complete.) And as the powers of a Supreme Being manifested themselves in these occurrences to all present, hence they were all seized by that holy

dread which makes itself known in those who fear God, as often as things of a Divine nature become palpable to them (comp. Luke i. 12). The report of that which had occurred in the family circle soon began to spread, and became thus known likewise throughout the surrounding neighbourhood; it remained confined, however, to the *ὄρεινή*, "mountainous country" (i. 39), without, however, reaching Jerusalem, the central point of theocracy. Without the Scribes and Pharisees having any idea of what was going on, the greatest events connected with the kingdom of God were preparing themselves a way in the circle of the simple-minded. (*Διαλαλεῖσθαι* signifies to speak to and fro, i.e. to talk with any one, Luke vi. 11. *ῥῆμα* = *ῥῆγμα*, "that which is spoken of, a word," according to the analogy of the Hebrew *דבר*, see Luke i. 37.) Whoever does not wish to perceive, with *Schleiermacher* (über den Lucas, p. 24), in this narrative, "a lovely little work of art, produced by a Christian from the nobler school of Judaism," will not hesitate to receive the cure of Zacharias, as also his growing dumb, and the appearances of the angel, as historical facts. We see that all the physical phenomena, conformably with the representation of the Scriptures, only serve to develop the object had in view by the ethical or spiritual world, and if we consider this event as a moral means of instruction for Zacharias, objections could in that case be raised against the regarding of this narrative in an historical point of view, only from that moment when we begin to consider as erroneous the fundamental relation in which God stands to the world. If we do not look upon God as a being existing beyond the sphere of this world, who permits all the phenomena of nature to unfold themselves according to laws left entirely to themselves, but rather as a being supporting the universe with his breath, and as the immanent cause of all physical phenomena,—the miracle will consist, then, not so much in the isolated external fact (which stands always in connection with higher or lower, known or unknown laws, for the Spirit of God himself is the law), as in the harmonious agreement existing between each individual phenomenon and the highest interest of the whole. Without this agreement the miracle would resemble a piece of magic legerdemain. (Compare these remarks with Matth. viii. 1 sqq.) The supposition that the narrative in question is no fact, but only a mythos, suffers greatly from the unfavourable circumstance (independent of the general grounds already mentioned, which preclude the supposi-

tion of any mythos being contained in the sacred Scriptures), that the fiction of the imposition of dumbness upon a person as a punishment is highly improbable, inasmuch as punishments of this kind are without any analogy.¹ The peculiar character of this event bears witness to its veracity; occurrences such as these are not easily invented.

Ver. 66. As if by way of digression, the Evangelist records, moreover, the impression which these occurrences in the family of Zacharias produced upon the minds of their neighbours. Expectations were thus raised as to the importance of the little child, which were justified, indeed, even in the course of his early development. (*Χεὶρ κυρίου*, "the hand of the Lord" = יְדֵי יְיָ. The hand, which is the most general organ of activity, must here be considered as that of protection and blessing. That this hand of the Lord rested upon the child during the period of his early development must be anticipated, in order to demonstrate that the expectation of men was fulfilled. The passage *τιθέναι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ* "to lay up in the heart" = שָׂם, "to put or place," with the prepositions *עַל*, "on, or above," *אֵל*, "to," *בְּ*, "in," and *לִבְ*, "the heart," does not only imply the sense of laying up in the mind, but it likewise implies the idea of revolving in the mind, and carefully considering the nature of a thing.)

Ver. 67. An intermission in the true sense of the word here is none; in ver. 66 only a few ideas are anticipated. The prophetic words of Zacharias which follow rather connect themselves in a direct manner with ver. 64, (on the *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, "Holy Spirit," comp. on ver. 15 and 41). The words of Zacharias, in which he speaks prophetically concerning the relation in which his son stands to the Messiah, and to the realisation of all the hopes created in the heart of men by the prophets of the Old Covenant, are altogether befitting so solemn an occasion, on which strength both bodily and spiritual was imparted to Zacharias from heaven, and which thus raised him above himself. The main subject Zacharias commences ver. 68—75, and he then places John, ver. 76—79, as exercising a preparatory ministry, in a proper relation to the Lord, in whom were fulfilled the pro-

¹ *Strauss* does not hesitate to persist in maintaining his opinion, even in the second edition of his work, (vol. i. p. 141), notwithstanding this decisive argument or feature, since an appeal to analogies would afford him the only means to procure illusory supports for his arbitrary views.

mise made by the prophets. Although the ministry of the Messiah is herein likewise declared to have a particular reference to the people of Israel, and although the whole representation takes a national colouring, *yet do we perceive nowhere any erroneous notion* productive of those special applications, inasmuch as they were based on a purely moral conception of the kingdom of the Messiah (ver. 74, 75), admitting a general application in the same manner which we have already endeavoured to establish above (ver. 16, 54). The discourse, moreover, bears a character so altogether Hebraic that it may be retranslated into the Hebrew word for word; a circumstance which renders the supposition highly probable, as we have endeavoured already above to prove, that we have here before us family documents of which St Luke availed himself in the then present state in which he found them. As such, these valuable records possess a double amount of worth, inasmuch as they bear witness to the circle of ideas within which St John grew up; and the supposition that St John was drawn into this circle by convictions and positive instruction offers no difficulty whatever, inasmuch as we are compelled to suppose an absolutely free development from within in our Redeemer only.

Ver. 68, 69. Zacharias, in a state of true prophetic inspiration, regards the work of redemption, which in the birth of the forerunner of the Messiah manifested itself as yet in the bud only, (wherefore it is necessary not to confound the aorists with future tenses) as already completed.¹ His unbelief, therefore, alluded to in ver. 20, here appears changed into the most steadfast belief, which made him receive things invisible and far distant as visible and present. (On the passage *ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, "the God of Israel," comp. ver. 16. Herein is expressed nothing but the pure individualisation, "particularismus," of Scripture, to which the Redeemer, as well as all the apostles, firmly adhere; the relation in which the people of Israel stand to our Lord differs from that of all other nations.) In the birth of his son, whom Zacharias only views in connection with the appearance of Christ, he saw a rich visitation of the mercy of God, which was to be the final

¹ This statement badly suits the opinion, according to which the Gospels are said to have been invented during the second century, and fathered upon the apostles; for the church at that time had attained so little external glory that no one could have felt induced to undertake to make such a statement, considering the circumstances she was then in.

result of the long expectation of the righteous. (Ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, "to look down upon," i.e. to visit, is used quite in the same manner as the בָּקַר of the Old Testament-[Judges xv. 1]; only that there it more generally implies the idea of a *visit* in order to punish, whereas in the New Testament it is used in the sense of a *visit* in order to do good, agreeably to the pervading character of both dispensations. λύτρωσις , "redemption, deliverance" = פְּדוּת , comp. the present remarks on its meaning with Matth. xx. 28. To suppose a merely political deliverance here spoken of is evidently forbidden by ver. 75, but that Zacharias had also in view external, i.e. temporal blessings, in connection with the appearance of the Messiah, is more than probable, and that he fully comprehended the ministry of Christ is by no means an erroneous view of the case.) The Divine mercy manifested itself in the mission of the Messiah in the character of redemption and protection. κέρας σωτηρίας , "horn of salvation" = קַרְן יְשׁוּעָה Psalm xviii. 3, is here used with reference to passages such as Psalm cxxxii. 17, where the horn of David is spoken of. The point of comparison in this figure of speech is that power which is herein to be regarded as protecting the righteous and as punishing the wicked.

Ver. 70. Henceforward the whole subject is to be looked upon in its connection with the sacred circle of the ancient prophets who had predicted the general event, i.e. the λύτρωσις τοῦ λαοῦ , "the deliverance of the people," as also the particular, that is, that a descendant of David would accomplish it. (Καθὼς ἐλάλησεν , "as he spake," sc. ὁ Θεός, God, must be referred to the whole of the preceding passage.) The prophets are to be regarded as succeeding each other in a direct line throughout the history of the people of Israel and throughout that of the whole human race; and the result of their predictions now at last appears as fully realised. ($\text{Ἀπ' αἰῶνος, ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος}$, "from the earliest ages," and similar formula are used in the sense of indefinite generality, as the German, *von je an*, or the English, *from time immemorial*; so that they require to be explained in a more definite manner from the words with which they are found in connection. But it implies, nevertheless, always, that the events recorded must be traced back to the commencement of the αἰών , "age or time," to which they have a natural reference: on ἀπ' ἀρχῆς , "from the beginning," comp. on Luke i. 2). According to the connection in which this formula is

here met with, ἀπ' αἰῶνος must lead us back to the beginning of the Jewish people, hence to Abraham [ver. 73], unless, indeed, we go as far back as the beginning of the human race itself, inasmuch as the most ancient advocates of righteousness and the fear of God were even then regarded in the light of prophets (2 Peter ii. 5; Jud. ver. 14); for αἰῶν see also the comment on Matth. xii. 32.

Ver. 71. After the digression, the idea of the σωτηρία, "salvation," spoken of in ver. 69 is resumed with an especial reference to the deliverance from enemies (ἐχθροί, "enemies," μισοῦμενοι, "haters.") The political view taken of the ministry of the Messiah seems to be expressed in a most distinct manner in these words, and to deny its presence in this place is certainly impossible. As in ver. 47, so, no doubt, did the mind of Zacharias embrace together with this glance at the Messiah's appearance likewise a full view of his perfected ministry, where the external must correspond with the internal, as will be the case in the kingdom of God. But in consequence of this very glance into futurity, the ἐχθροί, "enemies, adversaries," here spoken of must be received in a far deeper sense, indeed in such a manner as to imply all such as dwell in the inimical element of life, i.e. in enmity with God and his saints. But then the σωτηρία here mentioned is only a one-sided view of the Messiah's ministry, which is seen in its completeness in the λατρεῦειν ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, "to serve in holiness and righteousness," of ver. 74, and thus the σωτηρία ἐξ ἐχθρῶν, "salvation from enemies," obtains a deeper meaning, inasmuch as the mere deliverance from the dominion of the Romans could not certainly produce a true ὁσιότης and δικαιοσύνη, i.e. holiness and justice.

Ver. 72, 73. The construction of what follows strongly betrays its Hebrew origin (the infinitive moods ποῖσαι, "to perform," μνησθῆναι, "to remember," stand in place of the usual construction εἰς τὸ ποῖσαι = רַחֵם רַחֲמֵי, "to perform mercy," comp. Winer's Grammat. pag. 266); it is evident, however, that ποιῆσαι ἔλεος κ. τ. λ., "to perform mercy, &c.," must not be considered as something of a different nature placed in contradistinction to the σωτηρία, "salvation" (ver. 71), but must be regarded only as an idea of secondary consideration, having nevertheless a reference to the main idea. In the passage, ποιῆσαι ἔλεος, "to perform mercy," — πατέρες ἡμῶν, "our fathers," the reference is not to the present but to the past. What it implies is, that an ἔλεος, i.e. mercy, would

be shown likewise to the *πατέρες*, "fathers," of past times through or by the *σωτηρία*, "salvation," of the present time. (The passage *ποιεῖν ἔλεος μετά*, "to perform mercy with," corresponds with the Hebrew *עָלַם רַחֲמֵי יְהוָה*, "to perform mercy with any one, to show mercy," Genes. xxiv. 14.) Concerning this idea, so it must be observed that it is particularly suited to point out the spirituality and depth of intuition which are displayed in the views concerning the Messiah expressed in the discourse of Zacharias. The ministry of the Messiah is herein considered as one conferring a blessing on the entire world of their forefathers, inasmuch as *they essentially obtained* in his person only that redemption and forgiveness in which they *believed* up to the time of his manifestation. Hence it is that the *σωτηρία ἐξ ἐχθρῶν*, "salvation from enemies," here manifests itself as one which is profitable likewise to the dead, from which it is evident enough that the enmity "*ἐχθρός*," which exalts, and, as it were, recommends the redemption, must be considered, as to its nature and origin, in a deeper or wider point of view. (The reference made to the covenant and the oath sworn to Abraham only stands as a portion of the whole of the revelations and promises made by God to our forefathers; the idea of the Divine *ὅρκος*, "oath," implies the indissolubility of that which has now been realised by the true and faithful God. It is best also to connect *ὅρκον*, "oath," with *μνησθῆναι*, "to have in remembrance," so that it may stand parallel with *διαθήκης*, "covenant" (comp. Is. lxiii. 7; Prov. xviii. 22.)

Ver. 74, 75. Taking up again his idea concerning the *σωτηρία*, "salvation," in the words *ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν ῥυσθῆντας*, "being delivered out of the hands of our enemies," Zacharias now expresses another thought which embodies a new and, so to speak, according to the prophetic view of Zacharias which looked upon the kingdom of God as already come, present manifestation of the ministering efficacy of the Messiah's appearance; the *ἀφάβως λατρεύειν Θεῷ ἐν δαίμοντι καὶ δικαιοσύνη*, "fearlessly to serve God in holiness and righteousness." In consequence of its connection with the passage *τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν*, "to grant to us," displays the true

¹ To suppose that merely political enemies such as the Romans here are spoken of cannot be admitted at all. Suppositions such as these, it is true, cannot be entirely excluded, and Zacharias, if reflecting on a changed political condition of his nation, was not altogether wrong; it was the sin of the Jews only which subjugated them to the Romans, as formerly to the Chaldeans; true repentance would again have delivered them.

adoration of God expressed in this text, as the result and gift of the Messiah's appearance. It is not a mere consequence of the dispersion or removal of the enemies, so as to lay the stress or emphasis upon ἀφόβως, "without fear;" but it is or signifies a thing newly bestowed, one that had never actually been seen before. The words form a parallel to all those prophetic passages wherein the foundation of righteousness is connected with and inseparable from the appearance of the Messiah. This mode of viewing it is entirely in accordance with what follows, (ver. 77,) in which Zacharias first speaks concerning the gift of the knowledge of salvation, "σωτηρία," and its connection with the forgiveness of sins; for whilst it was for St John to awaken the necessity, it was for our Redeemer to bring into the world the ὁσιότης and δικαιοσύνη, "holiness and righteousness," and the true λατρεία, "service," which proceeds from them. With the λατρεύειν ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, may be properly compared the προσκυνεῖν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, i.e. the worshipping in spirit and in truth, (John iv. 23,) which appears, likewise, as though it is conditioned by the appearance of the Messiah. In Ephes. iv. 24, both the expressions ὁσιότης and δικαιοσύνη stand together in the same manner in which we find them here, in order to denote the new man created after the image of God. (Comp. also 1 Thess. ii. 10; Tit. i. 8). Both expressions here embrace the whole sphere of true piety. ὅσιος

ΤΩΝ, "pious," implies more the relation existing between the pious man and God; δίκαιος = דִּקְיָא, "just," on the contrary, implies more the relation existing between him, i.e. the pious man, and his neighbours.¹ The nature of δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness," in this place, must be considered much more in the Old Testament point of view; for the term δικαιοσύνη, as used by St Paul in his Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, includes likewise the ὁσιότης, holiness, godliness. (Comp. these remarks on this subject with Rom. iii. 21). In πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν, "all our days," which are the concluding words of ver. 75, there once more seems to manifest itself a rather sensual or physical view of the kingdom of the Messiah, inasmuch as his glory seems limited by the duration of this life; yet these words may be considered, likewise, as a child-like expression concerning the enjoyment of

¹ Comp. *Polybius* (xxiii. 10, 8), who thus defines these expressions: τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια. "Just actions are those which are (performed) towards men; pious actions those towards the gods."

the blessings of the Messiah, which are indicated in an indefinite manner, whereas his kingdom is pointed to most clearly in ver. 33, as an everlasting one. Yet am I inclined to count this passage among those which express, without being erroneous, a connection with the prevailing popular ideas which in this case appear as being based on isolated passages from the Old Testament. (Comp. Isa. lxxv. 20). For, we must not suppose that the position of all beings will be uniform even in the kingdom of the Messiah, and this circumstance it is which explains and accounts for the varied modes of expression which we find in the Scriptures concerning it. The adjunction *της ζωής*, "of life," is moreover spurious, and has only been interpolated with a view to the explanation of the word *ἡμῶν*, "of us, our."

Ver. 76. It is only here that Zacharias first begins to speak of his son, and his position with regard to the *σωτηρ*, "Saviour;" he regards him as *his* prophet and forerunner. (The *προφήτης ὑψίστου*, "prophet of the Most High," forms the counterpart of the *υἱὸς ὑψίστου*, "Son of the Most High," ver. 32.—On the word *καλεῖσθαι*, "to be called or named," see on Luke i. 35). The *προπορεύεσθαι*, "to go before," and the expression *ἱτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς*, "to prepare ways," describe, according to passages from the Old Testament, the ministry of St John, (comp. Isa. xl. 3, with Matth. iii. 3) who was to awaken that necessity which was to be satisfied by the Redeemer himself. *Πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου*, "before the face of the Lord," as likewise ver. 43, contains again an intimation of the divine nature of the Messiah, to which our attention is also drawn in what follows, by the deeds attributed to him, and the epithets applied to him. Moreover, the degree of knowledge and clearness of perception concerning the mystery of the revelation of God, in the manhood, which Zacharias was possessed of, cannot be defined any further with exactness and precision; it is not improbable that the stream of divine light which pervaded his soul and whole being at this sacred moment, carried him beyond the limits of his usual powers of perception and cognition.

Ver. 77. In like manner, as above in ver. 74, does Zacharias continue here to describe the sphere of activity of the Baptist. As the object of this preparing activity is mentioned the *γνώσις σωτηρίας*, "knowledge of salvation." The *σωτηρία* itself, i.e. salvation, is given by our Lord, (ver. 71,) but the knowledge or understanding of its necessity is awakened by St John. (The especial connection of this *γνώσις*, "knowledge," with the *λαὸς Θεοῦ*.

"people of God," is here as manifest as in ver. 68). How the passage *ἐν ἀφίσει ἁμαρτιῶν*, i.e. to or for remission of sins, is to be combined, cannot remain doubtful. The *σωτηρία* itself dwells within it, and, as a divine action, it could only proceed from our Lord (Ps. xlix. 8, 9). Hence it is best to complete the whole thus: *σωτηρίας ἐν ἀφίσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν οὐσης*, "of salvation, which is for the remission of sins." The forgiveness of sin, therefore, it is which appears here as the great prerogative of the times of the Messiah, and which the economy of the Old Testament did not embrace. The offerings of the old covenant could effect no internal essential *ἀφίσεις*, "remission," but only a *καθαρότης τῆς σαρκός*, "purifying of the flesh," in the Levitical sense, (Heb. ix. 13,) inasmuch as they restored the relation to the theocracy of the Old Testament which had been broken or disturbed; but the sin itself remained under the long-suffering of God. (Comp. Rom. iii. 25). In the New Testament, however, the actual forgiveness was granted, partly in consequence of the real abolition of sin, and partly through the foundation laid in man, a new and more exalted life, i.e. of the *ἰσότης* and *δικαιοσύνη*. The purity of the views of Zacharias concerning the Messiah, is here expressed in a particularly clear manner, and it is from this point, therefore, that we must define in a more exact way, and through the speaker himself, that which has been left obscure in the earlier portion of this chapter.

Ver. 78. The mission of the destroyer of sin, (exactly as in St John iii. 16,) now appears as an emanation of the mercy of God, whereby Zacharias is thus led back again to the person of the Redeemer, so that the glance taken at his son is lost and dwindles into insignificance, in consequence of the vaster and more important view which he takes of the work of Christ, in the same manner, indeed, in which St John himself modestly retires far behind the person of Jesus, (John iii. 30,) like unto the morning-star that withdraws its light in the presence of the rising sun. (*σπλάγχνα*=*σπλῆν*, "bowels," i.e. tender affection, is frequently used in the Septuagint; *σπλάγχνιζεσθαι*, "to feel the bowels yearn, to have compassion," is derived from it. The motive of this expression is, that the lower organs to be found under the heart were considered the seat of purely pathological feelings; but this was especially the case with the womb, *σπλῆν*, "uterus," which, as the organ of motherhood, was used for maternal love itself. This expression appears in a certain sense as

the lowest degree of love, signifying, as it were, a physical love; but inasmuch as it is this love which manifests itself as the strongest and most direct, hence it is used likewise to indicate the Divine love, in order to express its essentiality and actual force, of which maternal love itself is but a feeble type or image. The adjunct *ἐλέους*, "of mercy," here indicates more clearly the divine love as such which is directed towards the miserable and unfortunate. As the result of divine mercy, Zacharias renders prominent the appearance (on *ἐπισκεπτεσθαι*, "to look down upon, to visit," comp. on ver. 68,) of the *ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους*, "day-spring from on high." The following ver. 79, the use of the terms *ἐπιφάναι*, "to enlighten," and *κατευθῆναι*, "to direct," leads to the assumption that the Messiah is called *ἀνατολή*, day-spring or rising sun, inasmuch as he is the light of men "*φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων*." The simile contained in the Hebrew word *צֶמַח*, branch, sprig, according to passages such as Isa. iv. 2; Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12, (where the Septuagint renders it *ἀνατολή*) is in itself a very apt one, only the term *ἐπιφάναι* following seems to ensure the preference to the above mode of reading it. The rising (i.e. of the sun), namely, stands instead of the rising sun himself, (Mal. iv. 2,) that lightens the path of those that have strayed, and which points out the right way. The additional words *ἐξ ὕψους*, "from on high," indicate, at the same time, that the phenomenon spoken of is a heavenly one—one descending from a higher system of worlds (*ὑψος* = *מְרוֹם*, the height, frequently put for *heaven*, the *highest heaven*).

Ver. 79. In these concluding words, the discourse refers to passages from the Old Testament (especially Isa. ix. 2, lx. 2,) wherein our Redeemer is spoken of as the light for those that dwell in the midnight darkness of ignorance, and a world alienated from God. (Comp. L. iv. 16 sqq.). The formula *ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοι*, "sitting in the shadow of death," corresponds quite with the Hebrew: *יֹשְׁבֵי בְּאֶרֶץ צֶלְמָוֶת*, "dwelling in the land of the shadow of death," Isa. ix. 2. (Concerning the term *צֶלְמָוֶת*, "the shadow of death," see on Matth. iv. 16). As the result of this illumination of those who sit in darkness, is marked their final restoration to the way of peace. (*Ὁδὸς εἰρήνης*, "the way of peace," signifies *the course*, the progress of life, which is in a state of continuation during the period of internal peace, as well as that it leads to it, as to a final object. This presupposes a restlessness, want of peace, *τῶν ἐν σκότει καθεμένων*, "to those sitting in the darkness.")

Ver. 80. A concluding paragraph, which indicates in strokes full of grandeur the bodily and mental development of the Baptist, and which treats of his life up to the period when he appears before the public, aptly closes the family-record of Zacharias. A similar paragraph concludes in like manner the family history of Mary, ii. 40, 52, which indicates, indeed, the fact that both these records are the production of one and the same author. The passage *ἦν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις*, "he was in the deserts," refers back to i. 15, and indicates the Nazaritic mode of life pursued by the Baptist. (*Ερημος* = *בְּרֵי*, does not signify exactly a desert, and yet it is a place or region uninhabited, a wild, or moor-land. The loneliness of his early life is to form a counterpart to his *ἀνάδειξις*, "manifestation, public appearance," as the official commencement of his prophetic performance of duty.—On *ἀναδεικνυμι*, comp. on Luke x. 1.)

§ 5. BIRTH OF JESUS, CIRCUMCISION, PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

(Luke ii. 1—40.)

A few months after the birth of the Baptist, Jesus himself was born. The Evangelist here records, in the first place, how an external political occurrence, according to the will of Providence, was the cause of Mary's journey from Nazareth, her usual place of abode (Luke i. 56), to Bethlehem, the place wherein her ancestors formerly resided, and where, according to the prophecies, the Messiah was to be born (comp. Matth. ii. 6). A decree issued by the pagan emperor Augustus led the mother of our Lord to the city of David, to demonstrate the truth that the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; he turns it whithersoever he will (Prov. xxi. 1).

Ver. 1. The preceding verse anticipated briefly a few necessary remarks concerning the Baptist; the passage *ἐν ἐκείναις ἡμέραις* signifying: in those days, hence refers back to the history of the birth of St John, narrated in a previous portion of this Gospel. But this passage contains historical difficulties of no unimportant character, which, as a matter of course, are eagerly seized upon and made available by the advocates of the mythical view and mode of explanation to prove the unhistorical character of St Luke. Yet *Savigny's* inquiries into the nature of the ancient

Roman state of taxation (in the *Zeitschr. f. geschichtl. R chts-wiss.* vol. vi.) have proved that Augustus intended, indeed, to introduce an equal form of taxation throughout the whole of the Roman empire, a fact which was doubted for some time (Liv. epit. lib. 134. Dio Cass. liii. 22. Isidor. orig. v. 36. Cassidor. iii. 52. Suidas s. v. ἀπογραφή.) That this undertaking included likewise Palestine, which had not been as yet named a Roman province, will offer nothing remarkable, the moment we consider that ἀπογραφή is here applied to the enrolment of real estates, or landed property, but not to a mere enumeration of personal property, which has its adequate Greek term, ἀποτίμισις, “enumeration, census.” To such an act of enrolment the emperor could well have recourse, considering the utter dependence in which the Jewish king found himself to the Roman emperor, a dependence which extended to such a degree, that the Jews, in taking the oath of fidelity to be exercised towards Herod, had also to swear the same to the emperor. (Comp. *Tholuck’s Glauber. der evang. Gesch.* p. 191.)

Ver. 2. The words of this verse, which seem to contain a more exact historical determination of the term ἀπογραφή, are more difficult and obscure yet, inasmuch as the true meaning of them does not agree with the accounts of the historians. For, Κυρήνιος,¹ “Quirinus,” the Cyrenius namely, here spoken of, was proconsul of Syria at a much later period, inasmuch as *Sentius Saturninus* obtained this honour towards the end of the life of Herod, and *Quinctilius Varus* succeeded him in the office, and after both these, *Publius Sulpicius Quirinus* was for the first time invested with this dignity. (Joseph. Ant. xvi. 13. Tacit. Annal. iii. 68.) If, therefore, the census held (according to Josephus xviii. 1. 1.) by Quirinus in Syria and Palestine is here spoken of, the birth of Christ would require to be put ten years later, whereby the entire chronology would be thrown into a state of confusion.²

¹ Josephus (Ant. xviii. 1. 1.) says of him : Κυρήνιος δε, τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων ἀνδρῶν, τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιστελεκώς, καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὡς καὶ ὑπατὺς γενεσθαι, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος. “Meantime Quirinus, a senator who had passed through all the degrees of honour up to the consulate, with the greatest distinction, was sent by Caesar into Syria, that he might administer justice to the people, and render an account of all their possessions.”

² With regard to the time in which the birth of Christ occurred, this passage cannot well be used to point out the years, on account of its

According to St Matthew (ii. 1, 19), as well as St Luke (i. 5, comp. with iii. 1, 23), our Redeemer was born during the reign of Herod, and a census under this king could have been held, therefore only by the pro-consul *Sentius Saturninus*, to whom, indeed, it is attributed by Tertullian (ad Marc. iv. 19), though without producing any historical proof, merely, as it were, as a matter of supposition only; as to this passage we cannot at all agree as to the propriety of adopting another mode of reading for the manuscripts of Tertullian. But supposing even that we were to adopt one, it then would little avail us, inasmuch as we should feel compelled to consider it a correction of the original text. But since all critical writers warrant the authority of the common text, none of the conjectures tried will be found valid. Some have even attempted to interpolate after the word *πρώτη*, "first," *πρὸ τῆς ἡγεμονεύοντος κ. τ. λ.*, "before the government of, &c.," so that the sense would be: "this taxation preceded the one (well known) under the proconsul Quirinus." It would be better

innate uncertainty. Besides the star (comp. Matth. ii. 2), it is chiefly the death of Herod, under whose dominion Christ was born, from which we can derive any information respecting it. According to *Josephus* (Antiq. xvii. 9, 3), Herod died a short time after the insurrection of a certain person named Matthias. This man, together with forty of his companions, was burnt by order of Herod on a night wherein there occurred a total eclipse of the moon, and which was soon after followed by the feast of Easter. This eclipse occurred in the night between the 12th and 13th of March 750, after the foundation of Rome, and inasmuch as no other eclipse occurred in Palestine either immediately previous to or soon after the one here mentioned, hence Christ must have been born in the year 750 after the foundation of Rome. In that case his birth occurs at a period when there prevailed a general peace, a circumstance upon which much stress is laid by the fathers of the church. In the year 746 after the foundation of the city, after Tiberius had returned from Germanica (Germany), the temple of Janus was closed, and was not reopened until the year 752, during the war of the Romans against the Parthians. (Comp. *Jo. Kepleri* de J. Chr. vero anno natalitio. Francf. 1606. 4. *Wurm's* Astron. Beitr. zur Bestimm. des Goherrtjahrs Jesu. In *Bengel's* Archiv. vol. ii. part 1. Also, the Abhandlung über das Geburtsjahr Jesu in *Kleiber's* Stud. vol. i. part 1, pag. 50 sqq. [Jesus cannot have been born later than the beginning of March 4710, according to the Julian era, the year in which the death of Herod occurred, that is, in 750 from the foundation of Rome.] See likewise the *Nachtrag* of the same, part 2, pag. 208 sqq.) With respect to the day on which the birth of our Lord occurred, the ancient church, according to *Clemens* of Alexandria, fixed it on the 20th of May (25th Pachon), whereas in the west the 25th of December has been appointed as the day.

to read αὐρή for αὔρη, so that this idea would be expressed in the words: "The taxation itself (which at that time would merely have been undertaken) took place first under the proconsulate of Quirinus." For, the change of an accent cannot be considered a change in the text, inasmuch as the earliest codices were written without accents. Meanwhile, perhaps without forcing the sense, it may be permitted to take πρῶτη in the sense of προτέρα, before (as in John i. 30; xv. 18); it would then read: "this taxation occurred previous to the proconsulate of Quirinus." Yet I do not deny that the remarks of *Tholuck* (Glaubw. der evang. Gesch. p. 182,) wherewith he defends this explanation, do not quite satisfy me, (comp. Winer's Gramm. p. 222); I find it particularly hard to reconcile myself to taking πρῶτη ἡγεμονευόντος, "first, during the government of," in the sense of πρὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονεῖν, "before the government of," although there is found in the Septuagint, in Jerem. xxix. 2, a somewhat similar construction. But be this as it may, one thing is quite clear, viz. that *Tholuck* has clearly proved, against *Strauss*, in his masterly treatment of this passage, that even although these difficulties be not entirely solved, no conclusions can be drawn therefrom against the authenticity of St Luke, who proves himself throughout perfectly conversant with the Jewish and Roman history, and more especially with the nature of that first complete census under Quirinus. (Comp. v. 37 of the Acts of the Apostles with *Joseph. Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1). If, on the most minute historical examination, the principal fact adduced by St Luke, which has been so long considered doubtful, namely, that a taxation of the whole Roman empire took place under Augustus, has been confirmed, we then may rest well assured, that the collateral circumstances mentioned by the same writer are quite correct. But even supposing they contained some error, or that ver. 2 was to be considered as a glossis, even then there would be no necessity for raising doubts, where the divine character of the Scriptures is warranted by the testimony of the Holy Ghost.

Ver. 3. That the families were obliged to go to their ancestral cities, arose either from the circumstance that the Romans, in accordance with their political wisdom, accommodated themselves to the Jewish custom, or that the Jewish authorities used this Roman order for taxation for their own purposes. Especially, according to the Roman custom, it was not permissible

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that Mary should accompany her husband⁴ in his journeys to the census. (Comp. Dion. Halic. Antiq. Rom. iv. 15).

Ver. 4, 5. The fact of Mary's going to Bethlehem can only be accounted for on the ground of a supposition that she was an heiress, and that she possessed a real estate in Bethlehem, comp. Matth. ii. 1). As in the case of the journey to Jerusalem, so in like manner here in the journey to Bethlehem, the expression ἀναβαίνειν = אָנָה, "to ascend, i.e. from a lower to a higher place," implies the accessory idea of a morally-religious height. (On this word comp. the lexicon of Gesenius). That Mary is designated in ver. 5 μεμνηστευμένη, "betrothed," is explained by Matth. i. 25.

Ver. 6, 7. Here in Bethlehem, whitherto she had been led by the existing taxation, Mary gave birth to the Redeemer of the world in most obscure retirement. (The passage ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτήν, literally, "were fulfilled the days of her bringing forth," corresponds with the Hebrew יָמֶיהָ לֵילָהּ, comp. Gen. xxv. 24; Luke ii. 21). As there was no room in the inn, (κατάλυμα=ξενοδοχεῖον,) she laid the babe in the φάτνη, manger. (Comp. ver. 12 and 16). This leads us to suppose that there was a stable, which the mother of our Lord was obliged to occupy as a place of abode, because the house itself was quite full. Ancient tradition mentions a σπηλαῖον, i.e. a cave, as the place of the birth of Jesus, localities which were frequently made use of in mountainous regions as shelter for the flocks and herds. Inasmuch as mention is made of this circumstance by *Justin Martyr*, (dial. c. Tryph. Jud. p. 304,) and *Origen* (cont. Cels. I. ii. 3,) and as it contains nothing improbable, hence we may regard it as well-founded. (On πρωτότοκος comp. Matth. i. 25.—Σταγγανῶ, to wrap in swaddling clothes, is only found in this place and in ver. 12).

Ver. 8, 9. The communication of the intelligence concerning all that had occurred during the holy night, was entirely confined to the circle of a few humble and unknown shepherd families, to whom probably the cave belonged which our Lord had chosen as his first abode. The obscurity which accompanies the entire history of Jesus, manifests itself even in this feature. The shepherds, no doubt, like Simeon, (ver. 25,) belonged to those who were waiting for the consolation of Israel; to appease

their longing, the angel announced to them the fulfilment, in the person of the *Χριστός*, "Messiah, anointed one," of all the promises made by God. Although the ideas concerning the Messiah were spread throughout the entire nation, yet the Holy Scripture distinguishes the rude carnal expectations of the mass from the hopes of the few noble-minded, which were based on necessities of a deeply felt moral and religious character. (*Ἀγρουλείω* signifies *to remain in the field*, particularly at night.—In the *ἄγγελος ἐπίστη*, literally, "an angel stood over or above," is manifest the idea of something sudden, unexpected, in the appearance.—*Δόξα κυρίου*, "the glory of the Lord," = *כְּבוֹד ה'הוה*, the brightness or glory which is represented as encompassing all heavenly visions.)

Ver. 10, 11. The words of the annunciation of the angel must be explained according to the passages previously noted. (Comp. i. 17, 32, 33, 74, 75, 78). As in the *σωτήρ*, "Saviour," the idea is included of the *ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, i.e. of the remission of sins, so it is in like manner in the *κύριος*, which contains the idea of the divine dignity of this destroyer of sin. Concerning the term *λαός*, "people," comp. also Luke i. 68.

Ver. 12. The angel gives, of his own accord, to the believing shepherds, a guiding sign, (*σημεῖον*, *תָּיִד*) which required not to be in itself of a marvellous nature. Yet we may here lay the emphasis upon *εὐρήσετε*, "you shall find," which corresponds to the *ἀνεύρον*, "they found," of ver. 16; in that case there will be no necessity to search for external causes or signs whereby the shepherds were guided in seeking the child just there where it was; a mysterious leading or drawing of the Spirit guided them to the right place through the obscurity of the night.

Ver. 13. This representative of the heavenly world, who communicated the joyful intelligence, was suddenly joined (*ἰξαίφνης ἐγένετο=ἐπίστη*, ver. 9.) by a heavenly host (*στρατιὰ οὐράνιος= צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם*, "the heavenly army," transferring the occupation of their exalted station to this poor earth, which so seldom resounds with the pure praise of God. As a type, this phenomenon contains the realization of the kingdom of God, which involves the idea of things celestial in union with things terrestrial.

Ver. 14. The words of the angelic song of praise are to be explained according to the signification of the appearance of the angel, and by the relation they themselves have to the birth of

the Messiah. Because the Messiah did bring back with him into the world the things longed for, and because his work is looked upon as finished, the insertion here of *ιστί*, "there is," is more to the purpose than *ἴστω*, "be," which latter expression rather gives to the sense of the words the form of a wish. Herein, however, the division of the words becomes a matter for consideration. If we insert a stop after *δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ*, "Glory to God in the highest (places)," then *ιστί* would have nothing to recommend it, and *ἴστω* be preferable, inasmuch as the words would become thereby in a clearer manner the expression of grateful joy. But in that case the *ἴστω* would also have to be applied to what follows, and the idea by this means would obtain the form of a good wish to be fulfilled on a future occasion, whereas it is infinitely more congenial and gratifying to regard it as an inspired annunciation of the thing (in the person of the Messiah) then present. Hence, that division of the words is to be preferred, no doubt, according to which the stop is put after *γῆς*, "earth," so that the idea of it is: "God is now (?) praised as in heaven so likewise on earth;" (*ἐν ὑψίστοις* = *בְּמֵרוֹם*, "in the highest," is here the contrast of *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, "upon the earth"). In them is rendered prominent all that is characteristic in the ministry of Christ; he made earth a heaven, and endowed it with, and transferred to it a divine and heavenly character, thus fulfilling his own prayer, "God's will be done as in heaven, so likewise upon the earth." In the language of inspiration, the plant of the kingdom of God is represented as full-blown, i.e. perfected. According to this division, then, *εἰρήνῃ*, "peace," is joined to what follows, and hence it must be read necessarily *εὐδοκίας*, "of good will," so that the whole shall assume a twofold division only.¹ The idea of the second part thus very naturally connects itself with the sense of the first. As the true praise of God, (which was conditioned by, or dependent upon, the reinstatement or bringing back of that which was lost,) so in like manner, by the Messiah, peace, both external and internal, was restored to the earth inured to war, and thus the *ἀνθρώποι ὀργῆς*, i.e. the "men of wrath or vengeance," were turned into *ἀνθρώπους εὐδοκίας*, "men of good will." Critical writers are certainly much

¹ It strikes me even now that the reasons for a twofold mode of viewing the angelic song of praise have the preponderance. Such men as *Bera*, *Mill*, *Bengel*, *Nösselt*, *Morus*, view this passage in the same manner.

more favourable to the reading of *εὐδοκία*, (only the Codices A. D. a few translators and fathers of the church patronize the reading of *εὐδοκίας*,) yet, a faulty interpunctuation of the first part, may so easily and necessarily have caused a change in the second, that the origin of the reading *εὐδοκία* becomes by this means explained. Moreover, if the meaning of the words as the living, i.e. positive declaration of the present was overlooked, and the *ἔσω* completely adopted, then would the triple division appear more suitable, inasmuch as it would appear improper for men to be called *ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας* before the Redeemer had finished his work and exercised his influence. The song of praise assumes a more vivid and deeper character, if we consider it as consisting of two parts, and if it be viewed, not as a wish, but as an announcement of the grace bestowed on mankind. Besides, in viewing it as consisting of a triple division, it then becomes difficult to avoid a tautology in the *ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη*, "peace on earth," and the *ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία*, "good-will among men;" in that case it would become necessary to apply *εἰρήνη*, in a very superficial manner, only to external peace, such as it exists among men in their relation to one another, and *εὐδοκία* (= *יֶשֶׁר*, "good-will, or favour"), in as far as a relation exists between God and men.

Ver. 15—17. The heavenly beings returned to their heavenly dwellings, and the men went to Bethlehem, where they found the promised Messiah, and then proclaimed (in the circle of similar minded friends, ver. 38,—for, that discourses delivered by angels are not for the multitude, is well known to all those who are visited by them,—) what they had heard and seen. On *ῥῆμα*, "a word, a matter," comp. Luke i. 37.—*Διαγνορίζω* (to make known throughout, i.e. everywhere), = *divulgo*, scil. *τὰ περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος*, "the things concerning the report."

Ver. 18—20. The hearers of the glorious news wondered much; the shepherds praised God as the angels did before them (ver. 13), and trusting or putting faith in the accounts of the mother, they received with a childlike faith what they had seen as the promised Messiah; Mary, however, gratefully received this homage as the confirmation of her faith. (*Συντηγεῖν*, "to keep or lay up with oneself in mind," implies more an activity of memory; but *συμβάλλειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, "to ponder in the heart," implies a meditating or thinking over, combined with emotions and sympathies of the heart. In ver. 51 *ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ*, "in the heart," is joined in a direct manner by *διετήρει*, "preserved," and

by this means both the activity of the memory and of the heart are combined into one expression.)

Ver. 21. According to the Mosaic law (Levit. xii. 3), the circumcision of the little child took place on the eighth day of his birth, and the name *Jesus* was then also given to him as commanded by the angel, ch. i. ver. 31. The Son of God, the pure and purifying, was placed by his birth in every respect under the law (Gal. iv. 4); and as he himself appeared *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*, i.e. in the likeness of sinful flesh (Rom. viii. 3), the father likewise subjected him to circumcision as to the symbol of purification from the *σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας*, "sinful flesh." He became in every respect like unto men, his brethren (*κατὰ πάντα*, "according to all things," Heb. ii. 17), yet without sin (Heb. iv. 15). This divine ordinance had its reference to the *work* of the Redeemer. In order to redeem those who were under the law (Gal. iv. 5), he assumed the human form, together with its entire nature and sufferings, and struggled hard from step to step as it pleased his Father to ordain. But then this divine ordinance had likewise a bearing as to his *person*. The participation of Jesus in the laws of purification of the old covenant was no empty delusive act on his part; but it had an essential meaning. Holy, pure, and perfect in his divine nature, he partook of the *ἀσθενεία*, "infirmity," of the human, in so far as his bodily form was concerned. He was *θνητὸς σὰρκί*, "mortal in the flesh" (1 Peter iii. 18), and the temple of his body transformed itself by degrees only into the *ἀφθαρσία*, incorruption, through the heavenly *πνεῦμα*, "spirit," dwelling within (comp. Matthew xvii. 1 sqq.) The circumcision, therefore, together with the participation in the purification (ver. 22), in the baptism by St John, and all the offerings in the temple, all this proved that our Redeemer considered these actions as divine ordinances, and that he placed himself in one respect, as to his life or being, on the same footing with his brethren, inasmuch as he took part in them. No doubt there was no absolute *necessity* that for *his* bodily perfection the Redeemer should pursue this course (comp. Matth. iii. 15, *πρέπειον ἐστὶν ἡμῶν*, "thus it becometh us"), as there was for the other members of the Jewish nation so to do, inasmuch as, in their cases, the omission of circumcision involved an extermination from among the people. But the harmony of the preparations made by God for the redemption required even this form in the development of his human existence; for by means of this sacred ritual or act, which

with the Jewish people bound and confirmed the more strongly the covenant made with God, he was received as a member into the theocracy of the old covenant, in order to raise (after they had obtained a more complete knowledge of his exalted being) the entire community with whom he was in so many ways connected to a participation in the more elevated station of his life.

Ver. 22. In like manner can be explained the participation in the καθαρισμός, "purification." According to the Jewish law (Levit. xii. 1 sqq.), every woman having given birth to a male child had to remain in the house for the space of forty days, and if a female child eighty days, as considering herself unclean, and at the expiration of it to purify herself by bringing an offering. For medical purposes this term was much too long; this ordinance had a religious and moral signification. It kept alive the knowledge of sin, which manifested itself from the beginning more particularly in sexual relations (Genes. iii. 10, 16); and by the offering subsequent to it, it directed the human eye towards heaven, from whence was to come the promised redemption from all uncleanness. A remarkable thing here is the reading of αὐτοῦ, "of him," for certain as it is that αὐτῆς "of her," is an alteration which has arisen from a dogmatic limitation, inasmuch as there appeared to be no καθαρισμός, "purification," for the σωτήρ, "Saviour," as little can it be supposed that any one should have produced this alteration in it by means of the αὐτοῦ. With the exception of the Codex D., there are only a few manuscripts of less importance in favour of it; yet the question is, whether the reading αὐτοῦ is not preferable to the common one, i.e. to αὐτῶν, "of them."

Ver. 23. According to the law of the Old Testament (Exod. xiii. 2), every first-born (בְּכוֹרִים = פְּטָרָהּ = διάνοιγον μήτρας, "that openeth the womb"), if of the male kind, was sanctified unto the Lord (קָדָשׁ, ἅγιος, sacer, signifies sacred, i.e. set apart from a profane or common to a sacred use). But as, according to Numb. iii. 12, 13, the Lord had accepted the family of the Levites, instead of all the first-born, the first-born sons, it is true, had to be presented before the Lord (παρὰσθῆσαι = קָרִיב, "to be brought near") as a symbolical act of consecration, of a devoting to service, but they could be redeemed for five shekels (Numb. xviii. 15, 16). From the service in the terrestrial tabernacle, Jesus was freed according to the law of Moses, in order to

devote himself the more earnestly to the building up of the greater and more perfect tabernacle (Heb. ix. 11).

Ver. 24. The offering here spoken of had an especial reference to the woman having borne a child (Levit. xii. 7), who, however, together with the child born, was considered one. That Mary was poor is evident from the circumstance of her offering the sacrifice of pigeons; rich persons offered a lamb. And yet she may have possessed, nevertheless, some small estates in Bethlehem and Nazareth, for only persons really rich were bound by the law to offer a sacrifice of a lamb of the first year (Lev. xii. 6).

Ver. 25. The sojourn of Mary at Jerusalem produced another strengthening effect upon her faith, inasmuch as a man called Simeon uttered prophetic words concerning the importance of the child. Nothing is known concerning the person of Simeon, for the supposition that he was the father of Gamaliel (Acts of the Apostles v. 34), and a son of Hillel, is indeed highly improbable. The indefinite expression *ἄνθρωπος τις*, "a certain man," implies more likely that Simeon too belonged to the lower ranks, among whom a deeper religious life seems to have existed at the time of Christ. Simeon (like Zacharias and Elizabeth, Luke i. 6) is called *δίκαιος*, i.e. just, which indeed indicates more the external legal portion of life, whereas *εὐλαβής* (a term related to *δαίος*, holy, i. 75), i.e. pious, scrupulous, devout, implies more the internal part, the disposition towards God; here, of course, it has a reference to that form of piety harmonising with the injunctions of the Old Testament, inasmuch as *εὐλάβεια*, "piety," = *φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "fear of God," or a deep and reverential sense of accountability to God. But the character of his religious life is expressed still more distinctly by the addition: *προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, i.e. "waiting for the consolation of Israel,"¹ which is closely allied to the passage following: *προσδεχόμενος λύτρωσιν*, "waiting for redemption;" this expression connects with the appearance of the Messiah the idea of *deliverance* from sin and suffering, whereas the former involves more the idea of *consolation*. Both ideas combined we find in the formula: *προσδέχεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "to be waiting for the kingdom of God." With regard to the noun *παράκλησις*, "consolation," it is only met with in this place for *παράκλητος*, the Latin for which is *advocatus*, signifying "an intercessor," and one bestowing spiritual aid and conso-

¹ Similar to this is the expression: *ἐλπὶς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, i.e. the hope of Israel, occurring in the Acts of the Apostles xxviii. 20.

lation. But the term *παράκλητος* itself, which the Rabbis render *מנחם* ("the comforter," a name of the Messiah), although they likewise frequently use the term *פִּרְקִיט* or *פִּרְקִיטָא*, "the comforter or consoler," occurs frequently, but only in the New Testament, when speaking of the Holy Ghost [John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7]; yet it likewise occurs in reference to Christ, 1 John ii. 1, but only in a modified sense. As it is here used whilst speaking of the Messiah, the expression refers to the state of suffering of the people, which is conceived as being removed by the appearance of the Messiah. This pious man, too, was inspired by the Holy Ghost (comp. Luke i. 15) at that richly blessed time, in which the greatest event that ever took place on earth was preparing secretly, and he thus began to prophesy of the Redeemer. (The passage *ἦν ἐπ' αὐτόν*, "was upon him" [comp. ver. 40], must be explained according to the verb *ερχεσθαι*, "was come," involved in the *ἦν*, and which completes the meaning of the whole, so that it would be: "the spirit came upon him, and hence acted in him.")

Ver. 26, 27. To Simeon, who hoped to see the consolation of Israel, an assurance was given by the Spirit that he should not die until he had been honoured with a view of the Messiah. (Concerning *χρηματίζεσθαι*, i.e. "to be warned or admonished" of God, see Matth. ii. 12. The writer observes a silence on the form of this *χρηματισμός*, "warning" from God, whether he received it in a dream or in a waking state. In the place of *ιδεῖν θάνατον*, "to see death," we frequently meet with *γεύεσθαι θάνατον*, signifying "to taste of death," i.e. to die, Matth. xvi. 28, inasmuch as the sensual perception is placed in both instances instead of essential experience. (The same Spirit who made him the promise guides him to it at the very moment of its fulfilment. Such a leading of the Spirit, which forms a contrast to the mere choice from reflection, we meet with in the life of all the saints mentioned in holy writ from Abraham down to St Paul. It is the prerogative of the true children of God, who are possessed of simplicity of mind in the noblest sense of the word, to know the voice of truth (John x. 4), and to follow it without erring, without abandoning, at the same time, the use of the natural powers of reflection and due attention to circumstances (comp. for example xvi. 6 of the Acts of the Apostles).

Ver. 28, 29. Owing to the power of this very Spirit, Simeon

immediately recognised in the child, with unhesitating certainty, the promised Messiah, and that without its having been required that Mary should inform him of her experiences. The old man, therefore, pours out his grateful heart with fervour towards God, who had thus kept the promises which he had made to him. (The passage *κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου*, "according to thy word," scil. *πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐρχόμενον*, "coming to me," refers back to ver. 26.) In this glance at, or sight of, the desired of all eyes, Simeon finds the end of his earthly existence, and singing, so to speak, his swan-like song, expressive of the glory of the Messiah, he bids an eternal farewell to this terrestrial life. (The words *ἀπολύειν ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, "to depart in peace," contain an allusion to the service and spiritual office of Simeon; he was a prophet at the period in which he lived, and no doubt kept alive the hope of all those who anxiously waited for the redemption (ver. 38). The word *εἰρήνη*, "peace," not only contains a reference to the fulfilment of the hope which inspired Simeon, viz. to behold the Messiah, but this expression indicates likewise in a profounder sense the peace-conferring conviction in general, that the people of Israel, as well as himself, had attained the object of their eternal solicitude in the appearance of the Messiah. *Δεσποτης*, "lord, master," is used a few times with reference to God, as in the Acts of the Apostles iv. 24; Jude ver. 4; Rev. vi. 10; and once only when speaking of Christ, 2 Peter ii. 1. This expression differs from *κύριος*, "lord," inasmuch as it denotes, in a more distinct manner, the relation of the absolute master, or the supreme authority of a sovereign, whereas *κύριος* implies, in a more moderate manner, the sense of possession or ownership.

Ver. 30, 31, 32. Simeon, in expressing this gratitude, connects with it, by prophetic inspiration, a description of the ministry of the Messiah whom he had beheld in the body. (The expression *οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου*, i.e. "my eyes," refers to his physical sight; for, with the eyes of the Spirit he had seen the arrival of the Redeemer long ago; Simeon longed after the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, John i. 14.) Although the hope concerning the Messiah, as expressed by Simeon in ver. 25, has reference to his own nation only, inasmuch as the Redeemer is called *παράκλησις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*, "the consolation of Israel," yet do we perceive here, in a manner not to be mistaken, the idea that the ministry of the desired one would extend, according to the Divine ordination, likewise to the whole of the human race. We

may, therefore, refer back, according to the sense of this open declaration to previous passages, in which the Messianic expectations are expressed. Their apparent limitation to the people of Israel, and their reference to terrestrial circumstances, form one side only of the Messianic idea, which we must thus complete by assuming the other, even where it is not expressed. The Messiah, it is true, has a primal reference to Israel, but from hence the living influence of his Spirit extends itself over all the other nations; and although his effective ministry may begin in the deepest recesses of the human mind, yet from this source likewise it sheds its influence on the external circumstances of human life, so that humanity with all its members, in its internal as well as external bearings, becomes in the true sense of the word the object towards which the Messiah directs his redeeming and healing ministry and activity. As this attribution of the ministry of the Messiah to the whole human race, including even the remotest nations, belongs to the teaching or dogmas of the Old Testament (comp. Genes. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxviii. 14; xlix. 10; Ps. lxxxvii.; Is. xi. 19, 42, and other pass.), hence we must the more suppose this view to have existed in the minds of all the pious who lived at the time of Christ, inasmuch as they appear as living in the spirit of the old covenant. That they too should have applied all this to their own nation, and that the idea of an amelioration of external circumstances formed with them a most prominent feature in the foreground of their hopes, appears perfectly justified by existing circumstances; this form of representation is sanctified also by the Old Testament, which never permits any relation or reference to the people or nation to pass or descend into a mere vulgar particularisation, nor does it admit the hope of a change of external circumstances to be deprived of a moral and religious basis. It was ever this very idea which prevailed in the imagination of the rude sensual mass, who rejoiced in the idea of an exclusion of all the Gentiles, as such, from participating in the blessings of the Messiah, and who hoped, in their carnal notions, without any true change of heart, to follow henceforth the Messianic king as their leader in the war of extermination to be waged against the Gentiles. That such rude notions must not be confounded with the noble views entertained in the circles of the pious-minded who lived at that time, appears evident from ver. 38, wherein all those expecting the Messiah are denoted as a

particular circle. But the expectations concerning the Messiah were, at the time of Christ, as has been observed already, notions prevailing throughout the entire nation; had they been acknowledged, therefore, in the form in which they existed in the rude mass as the true or real, in that case *προσδέχασθαι λύτρωσιν*, i.e. "to wait for deliverance," could not have been employed as a characteristic mark whereby to denote a certain circle of men. (Ver. 31, like i. 71, contains the abstract instead of the concrete personality, *σωτήριον*=*σωτηρία*, "salvation," for *σωτήρ*, "Saviour." It is called the salvation of God, because it originates with him, as likewise because it is of his nature, which comprises both, inasmuch as only things divine can proceed from God.—The reference to the Gentiles is contained in *ἐτοιμάζειν*=*προορίζειν*, "to appoint, to predestinate," Rom. viii. 29, 30, as being founded on the Divine decree of mercy, which was hence very correctly perceived by Simeon in the prophecies of the Old Testament.—In *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, "in the face"=*ἐνώπιον*, "in the presence of, before"=*לְפָנֶיךָ*, "in the face," is denoted not only the process of an external becoming known, but it expresses likewise an effect produced within, inasmuch as objects perceived from without produce analogous effects within. This expression reminds us of Is. xi. 10, where the Messiah is called *עֶמֶד לְגֵם עַמִּים*, literally "standing for an ensign to the people," inasmuch as he presides or rules over the nations in consequence of his being the ensign of the gathering, and as forming the central point of their spiritual union. In like manner the passage *φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἰθύνων*, i.e. "a light to lighten the Gentiles" of ver. 32, refers to passages such as Is. xlii. 6 (John i. 4); Is. xxv. 7. The contrast to *ἀποκάλυψις* is formed by "being veiled"=*פָּנֵי הַלֵּוֹט*, "covered as to the face" (Is. xxv. 7). But the blessing of the Gentiles is a *δοξα*, "glory" of Israel.—*Λαός* and *ἔθνος* are here put one for another, since Israel is called, indeed, *ἔθνος*, "the nation," John xi. 48 sqq. Only when used in the plural has *ἔθνη*=*גוֹיִם*, "nations," the signification of Gentiles.")

Ver. 33, 34. The parents of Jesus marvelled not so much, indeed, at those things which were spoken of their son, as that the Spirit testified so uniformly through the most divers characters, of the spiritual importance of the child. (The reading *Ἰωσήφ*, "Joseph," instead of *πατήρ*, "father," has evidently arisen from dogmatical, i.e. doctrinal anxiety. The transcribers were afraid that the

expression would be applied to corporeal procreation.) When we see Simeon here represented as *blessing* the Redeemer, this must be taken in the sense expressed on Luke ii. 21, and Matth. iii. 15. According to the principle, τὸ ἕλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται, "the less is blessed of the better," Heb. vii. 7. Simeon here appears to be placed by circumstances as much above Jesus as St John, who baptised him, and as the rabbis of whom Jesus asks questions, Luke ii. 46. In his development as a human being, our Redeemer was subject to the established decrees and laws of development according to which our human nature develops itself; and hence as a child he was a *real* child, consequently he was dependent on the degrees of physical life and the laws of nature. The ideal which was dormant within him developed itself only by degrees; yet whatever degree of development he attained, it always betrayed his true character. In what follows, Simeon points out more distinctly the ministry of Christ, which he views as one of a separating and dividing character according to the nature of men, and which he describes as being both saving and destructive. With this is connected a faint allusion to the path of suffering by which the object is to be attained (Luke xxiv. 26). The chosen image to which the expression, κεῖσθαι εἰς πτώσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν, i.e. "to be placed for the fall and rise,"—refers, is that of a rock (Is. xxviii. 15; Dan. ii. 34; Zech. iii. 9; Matth. xxi. 41), which becomes a πρόσκομμα, i.e. "a stumbling-block" to the proud (1 Peter ii. 7, 8), who stumble against it, whereas to the humble it becomes an occasion for raising themselves from their lowness. (Hence ἀνάστασις, "the rising up," merely forms a contrast to πτώσις, "fall.") In this ministry of his so opposite a character, the Redeemer reveals himself according to the Divine intention and regulation. (Κεῖσθαι, "to be placed," is by no means equivalent to εἶναι, "to be or become;" this expression, combined with εἰς, "for, unto," involves a reference to an object, purpose, Phil. i. 16.) His ministry, not only as it was on his first appearance, but likewise as it displayed itself in the course of time, and as recorded in history, manifests itself always and everywhere as a penal justice, as well as an everlasting activity of redemption; both these features are the two halves of the ministry of our Lord which complete one another. (The remark, that not *all* the members, but *many* of the people, are touched thereby, must be explained in such a manner as to imply that the object of Christ is to re-

deem all, but unbelief throws obstacles in the way of success; to many it proves a salvation, and to many in like manner it becomes a destruction. In the concluding words of ver. 34, viz. *καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον*, i.e. "and for a sign which shall be spoken against," the intimation of the sufferings of Christ becomes apparent. Those who fall through him are likewise the *ἀντιλέγοντες*, "the disobedient." The term *ἀντιλέγειν*, "to speak against," must be conceived as a general expression implying a hostile inclination, which at the same time involves an action. Even in this *ἀντιλογία*, "contumely," the Redeemer appears as a *σημεῖον*, "given by the Father to the world," and, indeed, just as much to the unbelieving as to the believing world, although, it is true, in different points of relation. The expression must be conceived as Isa. viii. 18. God speaks to the world through the Redeemer and his whole manifestation—through the man with the cross and the crown of thorns—a mighty language of deeds, and places him actually before humanity as a fact and as a prodigy, in the same manner as Isaiah represented him, by means of his sons with their symbolical names. (Comp. Matth. i. 23.)

Ver. 35. Whilst speaking of the opposition which the Anointed would receive from the world, the far-seeing prophet casts a glance on the life of the blessed mother of the child of God. The woman who gave birth to God was as such not as yet a being born of God, she was like all other human beings, *born of woman*, *γεννητὴ γυναϊκός* (comp. Matth. xi. 11), and required, therefore, like them, the new birth, which cannot be attained without tribulation (Rev. vii. 14). A pure or mere mention of suffering, without involving the idea of consolation, cannot be contained in: *τὴν ψυχὴν διελύσεται ῥομφαία*, i.e. "a sword shall pierce the soul;" this would cloud the serene character of the whole prophecy. The idea of the deepest and most poignant grief of mind, on the contrary, completes here the notion of healing and perfection through it, just as the term *ἀντιλέγεσθαι*, "to be spoken against" (ver. 34), involves the notion of triumph over every kind of *ἀντιλογία*, "calumny." Killing, and at the same time vivifying, appears the grief in Mary, which was one with the sufferings of her Son, at the sight of which she would not only have to combat the conflict of her maternal affection, but likewise that of her faith, which must seem to perish at the same time with that Son who was given to her from above. As the object of this separating judging activity is the revelation of the secret depths and impulses of the heart, the good as

well as bad ones bestowed. Hence it is that Christ appeared even during the period of his external development as the judge of the world; his penetrating ministry, wherever he appears, presses for a decision either for or against. (The *διαλογισμοί*, "thoughts, imaginations," are here combined, as has already been observed at Luke i. 51, with the *καρδία*, "heart." In like manner the more rare *ἐπίνοια* of viii. 22 of the Acts of the Apostles, *ἐπίνοια* of 1 Tim. vi. 4, and *νόημα* Baruch ii. 8. All these expressions indicate, as appears evident, indeed, from the etymology, actions of the *νοῦς* or *λόγος*, corresponding to the German *Gedanken*, "thought;" hence it is that *καρδία* cannot indicate the faculty to which they belong. The sacred Scriptures, however, never view the activity of the faculty of thought independent of the inclinations and the course of life of man, which is done according to a very correct psychological view; the holy Scriptures reduce every rising thought to the secret inclination of the heart.¹ As the central point of personal life, the Bible regards the *καρδία* = *לֵב*, i.e. heart, comp. Prov. iv. 23. *יְהִי מִן הַלֵּב הַזֶּה*. Hence *ἐκ καρδιῶν*, "from the hearts," very correctly denotes the incitation of the *διαλογισμοί* from the very heart, although they themselves belong to the *νοῦς*, "mind."

Ver. 36, 37. One more person of the (probably very small) circle of pious individuals who then lived at Jerusalem is mentioned to us,² It is Anna, who had likewise partaken of the Spirit (*προφῆτις*, "a prophetess," = *πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἔχουσα*, "one that hath the Holy Spirit," ver. 26). As a distinguished feature of this otherwise unknown woman, we read that she, notwithstanding her age of fourscore and eight years, had lived with a husband only seven years from her virginity. The tender fidelity with which she preserved the memory of her husband it is which the writer wishes to render prominent. The description of her piety is in

¹ Beautifully says old *Michael Montaigne* (*Stimme der Wahrheit*, vol. i. page 4): In man we may overlook much as regards his *head*, although it must be confessed that it is always good to have it in its right place, and to find it stating nothing but what is right; yet the *heart* is the most precious part. The head we require only to *live*, but the heart likewise to *die*.

² Even *Schleiermacher* has already observed that this communication, made by a second person, and who expresses the same idea which Simeon already expressed, argues against the mythical character of the narrative; for the tendency to form mythos in the church one event of the kind would have been satisfactory enough.

accordance with the spiritual point of view of the Old Testament; her religious life had assumed the ascetic Nazaritic form (comp. i. 15).

Ver. 38. This person, then, came about the same time (perhaps at the hour of prayer) to the temple (*ἰφιστάναι*, "to approach suddenly, to come to or upon any person or place," see Luke ii. 9), and joined likewise in thanks unto the Lord as soon as she had obtained the intelligence that all her hopes were realised in the appearance of the Messiah. (The expression *ἀνθομολογῆσθαι* signifies, in profane Greek, to enter into a pact or mutual agreement, to agree upon a matter, to acknowledge or avow mutually. In Hellenistic Greek it stands for *ἡμῶν*, to praise, to give thanks, Ps. lxxix. 13. In like manner is used *ἱζομολογῆσθαι*, signifying "to avow, to acknowledge, to profess publicly," Genes. xxix. 35, and the Simplex Job xl. 14. In the New Testament the expression is met with in this place only. The old woman communicated the happy news very soon to all those members who belonged to the circle of the friends of the Messiah, who were of the same mind and who dwelt at Jerusalem. (On *προσδίσχισθαι λύτρωσιν*, "expected redemption," see to Luke i. 68 and ii. 25 = *λύτρωσις*, "redemption," stands here for *λυτρωτής*, "redeemer." The expression *περὶ αὐτοῦ*, concerning him, refers to the [certainly not expressed] subject of praise, namely, to the Messiah that had appeared.)

Ver. 39, 40. And when they had performed the rites of purification according to the law of the Lord (ver. 22), the mother and the child returned to the city Nazareth. The mention made of the final point of the journey as the proper stationary place of abode of Mary does not exactly exclude other journeyings (comp. the description following of the history of the infancy of Jesus). The subject here evidently aims at something indefinite, and the *ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*, i.e. "they returned to Galilee," is not so much a new fact, which the author wishes to record, as indeed the formula of the conclusion. Intelligence of a more particular and exact character were here wanting; hence he replaced the mother and child in that place which he well knew had been her stationary place of abode. (*Πόλις αὐτῶν*, "their city," comp. i. 56.) The last verse (40) indicates (in the same manner as it is done by St John i. 80) the purely human development of our Lord in body as well as mind, a development which was followed by the life of Christ, or existence considered from a human point of view. Only in the words *πληρούμενον σοφίας*, "becoming full

of wisdom," do we discover the addition of a peculiar feature. But that the meaning of *σοφία*, "wisdom," is to be considered in a relative sense, is evident partly from ii. 52, which passage describes this very *σοφία* of Jesus as being as yet in a state of development, which partly appear evident from the notion of childhood in general, to which the character of wisdom can be applied only in a relative sense. This idea, indeed, can only refer to the Messiah in his human development, inasmuch as he represented every period or stage of life pure and unclouded by sin, and yet in such a manner as not to destroy the character of that state of life itself, which would be the case if we assumed that the child Jesus was possessed of a perfect *σοφία*.¹ In the words *χαρις ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ*, "the grace was upon him" (comp. ii. 25), is expressed not only the Divine delight or pleasure in Jesus, but herein is indicated, at the same time, the efficient cause of the pure unclouded development of the life of the Redeemer. The grace is nothing but the *ἀγάπη*, "love," which manifests itself, and which proves itself efficacious; in every moment of the life of Jesus the love of God was reflected in him as in a mirror; he was in every sense a child, in every sense a youth, in every sense a man, and sanctified thus all the degrees of the development of humanity, but there never appeared in him anything inconsistent therewith, which would have been the case had expressions of a riper or advanced degree of life manifested itself during the period of his childhood.

In concluding the history of the infancy of Jesus, we must cast a glance at the relation existing between the narratives of St Matthew and St Luke, of which it is maintained that they do not make up or complete each other, but that they contradict one another; that they are based on traditions wholly differing, and forming, as it were, parallel lines to one another. According to St Luke, the parents of Jesus dwelt in Nazareth, and his birth at Bethlehem seems to have been caused by mere accident; according to St Matthew, however, it appears as though the parents of Jesus had lived at Bethlehem itself. The history

¹ *Schleiermacher* (Glaubenslehre, vol. ii. p. 178) very truly says: Were we to deny the gradual development of the Redeemer, we then would have to suppose either that the whole infancy of his was a mere illusion, and that he, for example, was perfect master of language even in the first year of his life; or we would be obliged to adopt the Corinthian view, and separate all that wherein Christ resembled the rest of mankind from whatever was primeval in him.

of the annunciation, according to St Luke, moreover, appears to be inconsistent with the incipient ignorance of Joseph concerning the nature of the pregnancy of Mary, and the instruction through the angel as recorded by St Matthew, as also the adoration of the magi, the massacre of the innocents by Herod, and the flight to Egypt, of St Matthew, with the journey to Jerusalem, because of the purification, as recorded by St Luke. But on a closer examination, we shall find that the *first* remark, viz. that St Matthew seems to have followed a different tradition concerning the place of abode, becomes of an utterly negative character. For St Matthew, it is evident, follows no particular tradition with respect to the place of abode of the parents of Jesus; he adduces no topographical, no chronological data; he contents himself with stating the mere fact. If he mentions Bethlehem in ii. 1, as the birth-place of Jesus, this is done (as may be clearly seen from what follows) only because the identification of the place is to be found in a prophecy of the Old Testament; had it not been so, it is doubtful whether St Matthew would have mentioned the place of birth at all. In the same manner he would have altogether passed over the general statement: *εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, "into the parts of Galilee," (ii. 22,) if the reference to prophecy (ii. 23,) had not induced him to mention Nazareth by way of addition. Besides, the passage ii. 22, 23, of St Matthew, according to *Sieffert*, needs not to be understood as though St Matthew was unaware that Mary had been in Nazareth long before the birth of Jesus; we only need to suppose that it appeared to Joseph, during his sojourn in Egypt, desirable to settle himself in Bethlehem, for fear of the persecutions of Archelaus, but that he subsequently relinquished the idea and went again to Nazareth. Accordingly, we can say of St Matthew, that he observes a silence on the subject of a more minute specification of the places inhabited by the holy family, and that he only makes a few passing remarks concerning them, which particulars we however find more minutely treated of by St Luke.¹ Furthermore with regard to the pretended contradic-

¹ *De Wette* accuses me (in vol. ii. p. 25, of his commentary,) of "an almost unpardonable perversion," because I can discover in St Matthew no other definitions of places than such as he appears to have mentioned by the bye. This assertion of mine I have proved in my two programmes on the authenticity of St Matthew; every unprejudiced mind

tions in the individual features of both narratives, there can be no question as to the practicability of effecting a reconciliation between them, if the passage *ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*, "they returned into Galilee," of Luke ii. 39, be taken in its widest sense. But that this expression is to be viewed as standing in immediate connection with ver. 40, and as forming the concluding formula to it, and hence as intimating only the stationary place of abode of Jesus, where, as we have seen, (ver. 40,) the early development of his mind is represented as having taken place, is, at least a way of evading the difficulty of a tenable character, to have recourse to which no person needs to hesitate who feels called upon to avoid the syrtes of the myths. Hence, there remains actually nothing in these two accounts which would seem to be contradictory; for no one, it is hoped, will in all earnestness raise an objection against the supposition that they returned to Bethlehem from Jerusalem, after having fulfilled the law of Moses concerning the purification of Mary, as *Schleiermacher* has done, who thinks it improbable, inasmuch as Mary had lived there in very narrow circumstances. These circumstances, however, were evidently produced only by the taxation, which, according to the nature of things, increased the population of the town only for a few days. But should any one persist to regard ii. 39 of St Luke as a concluding formula, which would be indeed too bold, the historical mode of viewing it would still be capable of defence, even supposing that a return to Nazareth had taken place. For St Matthew, in ii. 14, is not so utterly conclusive as to exclude altogether the presupposition of an accessory or by-journey to Nazareth. The relation in which the narratives of both Evangelists stand to one another, is therefore such as to admit very well the reconciliation of them by a mutual completion and addition of circumstances which are passed over in silence by either the one or the other. And where do we meet with any historical communications which does not require such a completion, if made by writers who in their compilations pursued paths different and independent of each other. More difficult, no doubt, is the reconciliation of the narratives of these two Evangelists concerning the matter of Joseph; for,

will be able to perceive from them the correctness of it. It is only where unbelief has blinded sound judgment, and where people seek for false or mock supports in order to render valid the most unfounded assumptions, that the reverse can be maintained with such intrepidity.

to speak more correctly, it is not so much the difficulty of reconciling their narrations which puzzles us, as, indeed, the obscurity of the event recorded, which, on a comparison of the two narratives, becomes clearly apparent. For, according to St Matth. i. 18, 19, it is uncertain how and when it was that Joseph became acquainted with the pregnancy of Mary. The term *εὑρίσθη*, "she was found," however, seems to indicate that Mary had related nothing of it to Joseph, and i. 36, 39, 56, of St Luke, raises this probability almost to a certainty; for, according to these passages, Mary visited Elizabeth when the latter was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and having remained with her during a period of three months, she returned home a short time previous to Elizabeth's delivery. Such a journey of three months, implies that Mary had not entered as yet the state of conjugal life; but had Mary discovered her position to Joseph previous to her journey, there can be no doubt but that Joseph would have taken her to him as a wife, in order, if possible, to prevent bad appearances, which would necessarily take place if he delayed the marriage. But then, the result springing up from this narrative is the remarkable fact, that Mary made no communication whatever to her bridegroom-elect concerning the appearance of the angel, and her hopes and expectations, but that she went, soon after the annunciation had been made to her, to Elizabeth, and that she there remained three months. It cannot be denied that this fact offers something very striking to every observer of these events, if considered in the point of view of common worldly occurrences; yet cases of so extraordinary a character as those recorded in the first chapters of St Matthew and St Luke, must not be measured and judged of according to the common theory of human probabilities. The events which occurred to Mary were of so extraordinary a character, that she could not possibly communicate them without producing a warranty of greater weight than her own word; the same child-like faith which prompted her to say: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word," the same it was which inspired her with confidence that the mercy of the Deity would be able to provide ways and means to assure her betrothed of the great fact of her being the pure bride of heaven.¹ And the circum-

¹ The attempt to solve this difficulty which is to be found in the protev. Jac. c. 12, 13, and wherein it is stated that Mary had forgotten

stance that she quietly trusted in the leadings of Divine Providence, waiting patiently until a communication of this secret of her pregnancy should be vouchsafed to Joseph from above, this it is which proves, in a manner not to be mistaken, that we are dealing here, not with a human, but with a *Divine* history, the peculiar brightness of which becomes clouded as soon as we feel tempted to measure the unusual phenomena therein recorded by the measure of our common-place and daily occurrences.

§ 6. JESUS CONVERSETH IN THE TEMPLE WITH THE DOCTORS.

(Luke ii. 41—52.)

The importance of this *apparently* insignificant event of the life of Jesus, the only one, too, which is related to us of those which took place previous to his appearance in public, demands our attention to a few preliminary remarks.¹ This event, if considered in its relation to the whole of the accompanying phenomena, reveals to us, in a manner not to be mistaken, the sacred moment in which was developed in him the knowledge of, or in which he became aware of his exalted divine nature. For, in his human nature, our Redeemer followed, as has been observed already, the general laws of human development, and even although the state of childhood was in him one of a pure, holy, and glorious nature, still it was *childhood* for all that, and hence not divine, but it became so by degrees, and in proportion as he advanced in his general mental development (Luke i. 80, ii. 40, 52), and at his first arrival at the holy city, towards which the lad may have been attracted long ago, it broke forth all at once like

that the angel had announced to her a conception by the Holy Ghost, and that she confessed it afterwards with tears to Joseph, is absurd. But this attempt at an explanation only proves that there existed a real fact which required an explanation, and this it is which the Evangelists have given, viz. in their statements that Mary observed a silence towards her bridegroom-elect concerning what she had experienced.

¹ The fact of *Strauss's* counting this event as among the mythical elements, proves, in a most admirable manner, the exaggerated and mischievous scepticism which fills his heart. A narrative, casting the semblance of disobedience upon Jesus, or of inattention upon his mother, would not certainly have been invented at a much later period.

unto glowing heat when breaking forth into flame, ripening into the clear knowledge that *he* was the Son of God, and that God was *his* Father. The circumstance of his *being* Christ, must be distinguished therefore from his *knowing* that he was such; a knowledge of the latter, i.e. of the fact that he was the Christ, he only obtained in consequence of the course of his human development. That knowledge, or the idea of it, carried him in that moment to his true home, as a type of which to him necessarily appeared the temple, and it is in moments of such spiritual exaltation only that he forgets the earthly representatives of his heavenly Father. But this forgetfulness in him was by no means an act of disobedience; on the contrary, it was an act of obedience dictated by a voice of a higher nature; he followed faithfully his heavenly disposition, and hence joined his parents with child-like resignation as soon as they held out to him the motive of their *rights*, even when *they* had forgotten their parental duties. Mary, his mother, had sinned because she had neglected her highest duty to God, i.e. the care of the divine child, in order to follow the diversions of sensual Jerusalem; this is a deep symbol of the relation in which things divine and human nature stand to one another in the new birth, in which, in a like manner, man, in the process of regeneration, is placed, so to speak, in the hands of the soul, who is to fulfil towards him the duties of a tender mother! This event permits us also to catch a glimpse of that sublime moment, when the flash of the divine light of the Spirit enlightens and penetrates through the thick covering of humanity, but only to let drop again the veil over this sublime mystery. But it is in this historical chastity that we chiefly discover the divine character of our Gospels, especially when compared with apocryphal writings, which fill out the space of time veiled in obscurity with fables of an absurd character. It was during this period that the divine plant of righteousness developed itself unseen, and nothing is related concerning events that took place meanwhile, doubtless because there was nothing of importance to relate. Jesus, no doubt, represented the ideal of a quiet, truly child-like infant and youth, and it was only in the very depth of his internal being that his nature developed itself, which would be betrayed at most only by a glance or sign. The spiritual world that was to manifest itself in his person flowed gradually into him from above, and all the various circumstances by which he

was surrounded, his conversations, contemplations, the reading of the Scriptures, contributed to the disclosure in him of one spring after another. For, to suppose that Egyptian, Esseanic, Rabbinical learning, was instilled into his mind according to the usual process of cultivation, and that all this had given a turn to his ideas, is contrary to the destination of the Messiah, inasmuch as we are to regard him as the only one endowed with the absolute power of destiny. His development, therefore, is one purely independent, quite internal, a continual flowing-in of the heavenly world into the earthly frame, the motive power of which can be traced solely in external circumstances.¹ In a similar manner must be viewed the position of Jesus with regard to the priests in the temple; his questions put to the doctors, and their answers, became stirring awakening motives to his internal life. But the opinion that Jesus *taught* in the temple must be dismissed as monstrous, — an instructing, demonstrating child, would be a contradiction, which the God of order could not possibly have placed in the world. The words ἀκούων, “listening to,” and ἰνερῶν, “questioning,” of ver. 46, refer clearly enough to his receptivity. The Scriptures, and the sublime hopes which they awaken, must have formed, no doubt, the basis of his questions; he enquires after *himself*, and we may say, that the whole struggle and longing displayed by the child Jesus was nothing but a desire for the revelation of himself. The wonderful combination of contrasts in the God-man, the connection of the temporal with the eternal, of the individual with the universal, presents itself before the mind of the reader in this occurrence, in its *act of becoming*, and ruling and serving, acting freely and obeying child-like, here unite in an unutterable whole, which would be looked upon with astonishment by his parents (ver. 48), as well

¹ Nothing herein is to be taken as dogmatically asserted, much less is anything specifically stated or put forward, as regards the progress of the educational development of the Redeemer. Was his human nature, as a sinless nature, specifically different from the fallen nature of man, so must also his progress of mental development have been, and, indeed, in a pointed manner must it be so understood, since it is made evident throughout that Christ had overcome all the sinful influences with which he was surrounded. We can only consider as a mere formality, that is a mere passive compliance in Christ, the learning of language, or of letters. The substance of his knowledge is, however, in all the steps of his mental development, to be looked upon as active, as it must have been no other than bright and pure. Tholuck's remarks against it (Glaubw. der. Ev. Gesch. p. 219 f.) appear to me not decisive.

as by unregenerate men in general, without their being capable, however, of understanding it.

Ver. 41—43. According to the law of Moses (Exod. xxiii. 14 sqq.; xxxiv. 23), the men of Israel were bound to go to Jerusalem three times a-year, in order to keep there the three high feasts;¹ children having attained their twelfth year used to go likewise on this festive journey; at this age they were called בְּנֵי הַתּוֹרָה “sons of the law,” and were bound henceforth to keep the law. This moment of becoming mature, according to the law, occurs very properly at a time when the first indications are given by the spirit of its awakening to a knowledge of its exalted nature. The passover, moreover, lasted seven days (to this refers the passage of ver. 43, τελειωσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας, when they had fulfilled the days), of which the first and the last were considered as a Sabbath (Exod. xii. 16; Deut. xvi. 4).

Ver. 44—46. The parents of Jesus, accustomed to the discretion and obedience of the lad, went on their journey without him, presuming, no doubt, that he was with their relatives or acquaintances. The συνοδία, which is derived from συνοδεύω, signifies a company of travellers, a caravan, such as were customary among those pilgrims who went on the journey to keep the feasts, in order to afford to each other during this journey comfort and protection. (Compare the charming description of such a pilgrimage in the beautiful poem of Strauss, entitled Helons Wallfahrt.) It was only after three days spent in care and anxiety that they found the holy child in the holy place. The word ἱερόν (it must be distinguished from ναός, “sanctuary,” Luke i. 19), the extensive building of the temple had many halls and separated spaces, in which judges pronounced judgment, or the Rabbis kept their schools for instruction. In one of these schools (מדרש) we must conceive Jesus to be.

Ver. 47, 48. Here, in this circle, the child became an object of general admiration, and this itself became in its turn an object of astonishment to the parents. Although instructed in the exalted destination of their child, yet were they unable to comprehend such a phenomenon. (The term σύνεσις, “intelligence,” generally stands in relation to φρόνησις, “understanding,” as

¹ The expression, οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, “his parents,” contains the information that his father Joseph was yet living; he, however, disappears from henceforth in the Gospel-history, which makes it probable that he died before the public manifestation of Jesus. Comp. Matt. xiii. 55.

that of νοῦς, "mind," to σοφία, "wisdom," and γνῶσις, "knowledge," σύνεσις signifies understanding = בִּינָה. Yet this expression [Is. xi. 2] is frequently likewise applied to things divine and to the manner of their reception, for example, Col. i. 9; Ephes. iii. 4; 2 Tim. ii. 7). The address of the mother (τί = διατί = לָמָּה, why) contains a gentle censure, which is removed, however, by the words following. The fault was that of the mother, who had forgotten the spiritual destination of her son.

Ver. 49, 50. Without its having been intended, the words of Jesus contain a censure of Mary, inasmuch as they express, indeed, the true idea. Had her mind kept always in view the spiritual character of her son, she herself would have brought him into such society, as his own lofty spirit had now led him to. (The word ζητεῖν, "to seek," in connection with the passage following: δεῖ εἶναι μὲν, literally, "it is necessary for me to be," implies the idea of irresolution, of wavering, on the part of Mary; this was what was false in her position; she ought to have known where Jesus, in accordance with his nature, was sure to be.) The passage τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, "the things of the Father," in the first place, certainly refers to the temple as the visible dwelling of the invisible God. But the sense of the words extends much farther in the aspiring and higher self-knowledge of the child. This mysterious meaning of the expression, which clearly points at the oneness, i.e. at the unity of the Son and the Father, was not understood by his parents in the position they occupied to the Old Testament, for that he was speaking on this occasion of the temple could not possibly have been obscure to them. Yet this mysterious word made an impression upon the mother (ver. 51), and sunk into her heart (ver. 19), wherein it revived in due time, so that it enabled her to speak of it.

Ver. 51. Καὶ ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτοῖς, "and was subject to them," is here evidently destined to oppose any possible mistake or misunderstanding, as though there had been developed in Jesus a will which was not subject to the authority of his parents; not so much in the sense of a common disobedience, which cannot possibly be thought of in one born of the Spirit, as in a loftier signification. For we could imagine, indeed, that the spirit of Jesus had conceived himself as *ruling* over his parents; this is, however, contradicted by the Evangelist in his express remark that the Son of God always submitted to the human will of his

parents. The general idea of the voluntary humiliation of our Lord (Phil. ii. 7 sqq.), therefore, here once more manifests itself in such manner as it has already been pointed out above (Luke ii. 21, 22).

Ver. 52. Another and new mention (see Luke ii. 40) of the progressive development both of the body and mind of the child (on *προκόπτειν*, in the sense of advancing, increasing, comp. Gal. i. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 16; iii. 9) concludes the history of Christ's infancy. (*ἡλικία*, must not be taken, as in Luke xix. 3, in the sense of stature, size; it is much better to regard it as signifying *age*, *maturity*, or *full-aged vigour*, which thus involves the perfection of the whole physical portion of life. The term *χάρις*, "*grace, favour*," must here be conceived differently from what it is in Luke ii. 40. For it is here given as belonging to the development, which is evidently inconsistent with the Divine love, for this love, as displayed to the Son of God, was always one and the same. The reference made to *God* and *mankind* clearly shows that *χάρις* here evidently manifests an especial act of grace, pleasure, so that it may be regarded as being = *εὐδοκία*, "*delight*," or *a being well pleased*. This might increase, inasmuch as in the human life of Jesus glory was developed more and more, which necessarily must have been the object of the Divine delight as well as of that of all good and righteous-minded men.)

II.

PART THE SECOND.

OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, THE BAPTISM AND TEMPTATION
OF CHRIST.

(Matth. iii. 1—4, 12; Mark i. 2—13; Luke iii. 1—4, 13.)

§ 1. THE PREACHING AND BAPTISM OF ST JOHN.

(Matth. iii. 1—12; Mark i. 2—9; Luke iii. 1—20.)

IN the second part of the Gospel-history the reader is brought into a closer contact with the grand and main events thereof; the Evangelists inform us, in the sections following, how or in what manner the public appearance of Jesus was prepared. At first it was the Baptist who visibly and externally prepared the path of our Lord; and then it was the pouring out of the Spirit upon the small circle of the godly, as also the temptation of Jesus, which prepared it inwardly.

St John appears here quite according to the prophecy of the angel (Luke i. 17), which *Zacharias* repeated (ver. 76), that is to say, as a prophet in the spirit and power of *Elias*. In his whole ministry he represents the law, the one namely which *demand*s holiness and righteousness, but which *offers* or *affords* no power. The external form of his appearance corresponds with the external character of his person; he represents himself rough and severe, separated from the world, and revealing to it the sternness of the Divine judge. His sermon of repentance is a commentary on Rom. iii. 20, "by the law is the knowledge of sin." It was the destination of *St John* to awaken slumbering

minds, to call forth the feeling of the necessity for redemption, in order that the Saviour might find hearts that were capable of receiving that fulness of blessing which he came to bestow; wherefore also it is that Jesus begins his invitations by immediately addressing himself to the poor and hungry. Hence, although St John is so near the New Testament that he touches upon it, yet there is nothing in his being and ministry to identify him with the spirit of the Gospel; he represents the law purely and solely, and only forms the connecting link of the Old and New Covenant; he is, so to speak, the key-stone of the former (comp. here Matth. xi. 9 sqq.) This *closely* united, and yet immeasurably *separate*, position of Jesus and the Baptist expresses, in a most palpable manner, the state of separation existing between the two economies or covenants; the law and the gospel are two separate spheres of life which must not be mixed up with one another; faith alone and the mysterious act of the new birth arising out of it leads from the one into the other. St John, inasmuch as he completely represents the keystone of the economy of the Old Testament, occupies an exalted position among those born of woman, and yet the least in the kingdom of God, "*as born of God*," is greater than he.¹ But with regard to the ministry of the Baptist, it must be said that it did not confine itself merely to the *κήρυγμα της μετανοίας*, "preaching of repentance," but it manifested likewise in an outward rite, namely that of baptism.² With regard to this rite, it is not so much its relation to the baptism of proselytes that awakens our interest, as, on the contrary, its relation to the Christian sacrament of baptism. Concerning the baptism of proselytes, I am inclined

¹ Comp. *Hengstenberg's* Christol. vol. iii. p. 460 sqq., where this view is disputed, and wherein likewise a higher character is vindicated for St John. Yet if the New Testament is not to lose its specific character, a new birth and the real experience of the forgiveness of sin must not be anticipated. The Old Testament contained only the belief in a *future* forgiveness, but the sin itself remained through the forbearance of God, until the sacrifice had been perfected on Golgotha (Rom. iii. 25). Whatever the Old Testament had and could bestow, St John the Baptist was possessed of, but the New Testament *existence* was not as yet his possession, because he died before the work of Christ was fully accomplished (comp. 1 Peter i. 10 sqq.; Heb. xi. 39, 40).

² For what regards St John's baptism comp. the context with the Acts of the Apostles xix. 4, according to which passage it appears, indeed, probable that St John baptised with the formula: βαπτίζω σε εις τὸ ἐρχόμενον, "I baptise thee unto him that is to come."

to think that a formal baptism, i.e. a lustration performed on a proselyte through another person, did not take place previous to the baptism of St John; it may have arisen at a subsequent period from the lustrations which every person performed on himself.¹ But had such a baptism existed, the choice of this very rite would have been less proper; for it was no intention of St John to form a new communion, the members of which he would have consecrated by his baptism, but what he aimed at was to purify provisionally all those who lived under the dispensation of the Old Testament, in order that thus no unworthy person might be presented to receive the Messiah. Equally as little can be conceded to the opinion of the Jews who lived at a subsequent period, according to whom the baptism of the Messiah already existed previous to the appearance of Christ; nay, the circumstance that St John baptised seems to argue against it, for had the performance of baptism been universally regarded as a prerogative of the Messiah, St John would not have presumed to perform it (comp. this with the comment on John i. 25). In order to account for the origin of the baptism of St John, no particular historical record is required. As lustrations were common in the Jewish form of worship, hence it was necessary to represent through, or express by, a symbolical rite the *μετάνοια*, "repentance," which he preached. This, it is true, he did not perform according to his own will—the Divine Spirit that animated him, as it guided him in everything else, so likewise in this ordinance—he was *sent* to baptise with water (John i. 33). Of much more importance is the question how the baptism of St John is to be regarded in its relation to that of the Christian church. It is clear that the baptism of St John cannot be one and the same thing with that sacrament of baptism which was instituted only after the resurrection of our Redeemer (Matth.

¹ It strikes me that the preponderance of proof is on the side of *Schneckenburger* (über das Alter der Proselytentaufe. Berlin 1828); the opposite opinion, namely, that St John employed the custom which already existed for his own purpose, is defended by *Bengel* in his work bearing the same title (Tübingen 1814). Since the Old Testament furnishes us with no data that might further the decision of this question, and as all the Rabbinical writings concerning events previous to the appearance of Christ are but unsafe or doubtful testimonies, hence it would be difficult to come to a well grounded result concerning those most ancient rites observed on receiving a proselyte. (Comp. likewise *Matthies* de baptisinate. Berol. 1831. 8.)

xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 16); the former wants the essential power of the Spirit (John i. 26), for it was a λουτρὸν μετάνοιας, "a washing (i.e. baptism) of repentance," but no λουτρὸν παλυνγεσίας, "washing of regeneration" (Luke iii. 3; Tit. iii. 5). The baptism of repentance of St John found its perfect parallel in the baptism of the disciples, as it existed *previous* to the consummation of the sacrifice of our Lord and in the institution of that sacrament of which an especial mention is made by St John (John iv. 1, 2). Because the regenerating spirit was as yet wanting (John vii. 39), this baptism, as indeed also with their preaching connected therewith, could only produce an effect of a negative character, which, previous to the glorification of the Redeemer, displayed strongly the character of that of St John (comp. Matth. x. 7 with iii. 1). Notwithstanding the resemblance which there existed in the form of the action, the nature thereof was very distinct.¹ In Christian baptism, according to its ideal conception, it was intended that the result of the perishing of the old life should be a regeneration to a new and higher existence, which could only be effected by the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, "Holy Ghost." In infant baptism, however, which the church introduced from wise reasons at a subsequent period, the sacred act resumed, as it were, its former lower rank or degree of the baptism of St John, on which account it is that a new act must succeed as soon as the understanding of the individual baptised has become matured, in order to perfect thus the process which can only attain its end in a person possessed of understanding. Thus, then, if indeed the baptism of St John was far inferior to that of the Christian church, still it was no empty illusion and mere custom; but it could certainly bestow no more than the individual performing it was himself possessed of. It fulfilled the blessing of the law in those who received it, inasmuch as it contributed to the consummation of the μετάνοια, "repentance," which then pointed to the necessity of another baptism which was capable of imparting the Spirit, the want of which had been awakened by the first baptism.

¹ The baptism of St John most probably resembled the Christian, not only inasmuch as he who performed the rite of baptism executed the immersion of the individual baptised, a circumstance wherein this baptism was especially distinguished from all lustrations, but likewise in so far as a *formula* was pronounced, as has already been mentioned above, during the rite of immersion.

St Luke (iii. 1) gives us here important information respecting some chronological facts connected with the Gospel history. St John the Baptist commenced his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; and since St John was six months older than Jesus (Luke i. 36), hence this statement (compare with Luke iii. 23) is a hint respecting the age of the Redeemer. Of course, it is nothing but a hint. For, in the first place, the number of the years of Jesus are not given with minuteness (Luke iii. 23, *ἦν ὡσεὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν*, "he was about thirty years"); and, in the second, the period existing between the manifestation of St John and of Jesus is not pointed out with precision. The year of Christ's birth, as must be evident from the previous remarks concerning the year in which the birth of Jesus occurred, is fixed, no doubt, according to the chronology of Dionysius, at too late a period, since the 15th year of Tiberius begins with the 19th of August of the year 27 after the birth of Christ.¹ The remark respecting the different princes who reigned at that time in Palestine, is another fact relative to the date of the appearance of St John. (The expression *ἡγεμονεύω*, "to be governor," sc. of a Roman province, is used like *διέσω*, to rule, to administer, &c., and implies the various degrees of the Roman provincial government. Pilate was only procurator of Judea; he continued in office about ten years, and resigned it at the time of the death of Tiberius, having been deposed by Vitellius, then pro-consul of Syria.—*Τετραρχέω*, in the original, means to govern over the fourth part of a larger territory, and in a wider sense of the word it signifies to govern in general, yet in a subordinate position. In this sense Cicero calls Dejotarus a tetrarch, Cic. de Div. i. 15. A higher title was an Ethnarch; this *Archelaus*, the eldest son of Herod the Great, enjoyed. Both the provinces Batanea and Auranitis St Luke comprises under the name of *Ἰουδαία*, "Ituria." The only thing remarkable in the enumeration or account of St Luke is the circumstance that even the ruler of Abilene, a district not far from Anti-Lebanon, and

¹ Herein are not included the years of his co-reign with the Emperor Augustus. After this date has the Abbot *Dionysius Exiguus* made that computation of time from which our era is derived. *Hase* (Leben Jesu p. 39 sqq.), who is followed by *Meyer* (in the comm. to this pass.), would falsely consider this computation as the correct one, inasmuch as they regard as myths all the other statements made in the history of Christ's infancy.

situated beyond the territory of Palestine, and which is so called from the city Abela, is made mention of in the words, Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς τετραρχοῦντος, "Lysanias being tetrarch of Abilene." Besides, at the time of Tiberius no Lysanias is mentioned as the ruler of that land; thirty years previous to that period there reigned, indeed, a man of that name, who was murdered by Antonius. Nevertheless, if we consider that the city and the territory belonging to it was so unimportant as to make it impossible that all its rulers should have been mentioned by the ancient historians, then the silence of writers respecting this prince will be by no means remarkable. We only need to suppose that Augustus had invested a son, or descendant of the earlier Lysanias, having the same name, in order to remove every doubt. And as Abilene bordered on Galilee, the scene of the ministry of Jesus, so this might have induced the Evangelist to mention likewise the prince of this small territory.¹ What St Luke has indicated in so minute a manner, is stated by St Matthew, iii. 1, in the indefinite formula, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐταῖς, "in those days." It is not improbable, that the diegesis which St Matthew no doubt employed when writing the first chapters went yet much farther, but that the formula just mentioned had a closer connection; it has, nevertheless [= the Hebrew יְמֵימָה יְהוָה "in those days"], frequently also a wider reference, comp. Exod. ii. 11).—With these chronological remarks respecting the political rulers of those days, St Luke connects the mention of the then living heads of the spiritual dominion. But there are mentioned two high-priests (Luke iii. 2); the reading ἀρχιερέως, "of the high-priest," is no doubt to be preferred to the plural, because two names followed, *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, hence the singular, which, according to the intention of the Evangelist, referred to the proper one, i.e. to the one who held the office of high-priest, was thus changed. The latter was the officiating high-priest; but his father-in-law, Annas, who formerly held the same office, and of which he now had been deprived, still maintained a great influence. (Respecting this subject, see the comment. to the history of the passion, as recorded in St Matth. xxvi. 57 sqq.) At this time, then, it was that St John appeared (παράγιναι, "came," Matth. iii. 1=ἦλθεν, "went," of Luke iii. 3), and preached repent-

¹ Comp. *Tholuck's Glaubw. der Evang. Gesch.* p. 198 sqq., and *Schneckenburger's* treatise in the *Studien* for 1833. Pt. 4.

ance. As the place of his preaching is mentioned, the *ἔρημος*, "wilderness," which, of course, was not a desert in the true sense of the word, but which we must consider rather as having been a heath, מִדְבָּר, "wilderness." But the circumstance of St John's preaching in the *ἔρημος*, and not in towns, shows the peculiar character of this witness of truth. It formed a portion of the nature of St John to *fly* from the human race [Luke i. 80], and to preach to those who seek *him*; whereas our Redeemer himself *seeks* mankind. (The wilderness of Judea [Matth. iii. 1] was bounded, moreover, by the river Jordan and the Dead Sea. [Comp. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. L. iii. 18]; hence St Luke iii. 3 calls it *περιχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, "the country about the Jordan," = כְּפַר הַיַּרְדֵּן, "the plain of Jordan," Gen. xiii. 11.) But peculiar to St Luke iii. 2 is the addition *ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Θεοῦ ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην*, "the word of God came unto John," which corresponds with the expression so common to the prophets, קְדָה דְּבַר יְיָ עָלַי, "the word of the Lord was upon." This remark, in the first place, implies that the public appearance of St John was not the result of his own reflection, but an act produced by inspiration from above. But then, in the second place, the manner in which the mind of St John was affected by the powers of a higher world seems not to differ from the one which took place in the prophets of the Old Testament. For, whilst a calm and continually active influence of the Divine Spirit manifests itself as the peculiarity in the minds of the faithful under the dispensation of the New Testament (the term *μῦνον*, "to remain, abide, or dwell," is here used in the language of St John); in the Old Testament, on the contrary, the ministry of the Spirit is expressed more as sudden and momentary, but which always involved other periods barren, and, as it were, forsaken of the Spirit as succeeding, such indeed as we find them in a subsequent period of the life of the Baptist (comp. Matth. xiv. 1 sqq.) Hence it is that the formula, יְד יְיָ עָלַי, "the hand of the Lord was upon," is frequently applied when speaking of the inspired moments of the prophets, in order to indicate the violence and suddenness of the inspiration. Such formulas, of course, are never used when speaking of Jesus, because the Divine nature manifested itself in him not at certain isolated moments in his life, but because he was himself the *One* everlasting manifestation of the deity, *the Word*. (Concerning the relation of *ῥῆμα*, "word," and *λόγος*, "word," which lead us

to the same fundamental idea of the relation in which *λειτουργία*, "to be called," stands to *εἶναι*, "to be," see the comment. on St John i. 1.)

What St Matthew [iii. 1] leaves unexplained, viz. the object of the *κήρυγμα*, "preaching," of the Baptist, St Luke explains with more minuteness [iii. 3], inasmuch as he calls it the *βάπτισμα μετάνοιας*, "baptism of repentance." (Comp. Matth. iii. 11, where St John says, *βαπτίζω εἰς μετάνοιαν*, "I baptise unto repentance.") The expression *μετάνοια*, "repentance," here describes the result of the law, in its operation upon the mind. Owing to its unrelenting and exacting form, it awakens in man the knowledge of his infirmity, and the longing for a power that is capable to satisfy it. Hence it is in fact a change of mind, of "*νοῦς*," taking place in the deepest recesses of human life; but considered in itself, of course, it is something purely negative, which stands in need of something positive in order to complete it, namely the *Spirit* which came by Christ, and which man receives through the *πίστις*, i.e. faith. To this refers the addition, *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, "for remission of sins" [St Luke iii. 3, and St Mark i. 4]. The preaching itself of St John was not to effect the *ἄφεσις*, "remission," but it was only to prepare for that which was to be accomplished by Christ. Hence it is not improper to complete this sentence by *ἐρχομένην*, "which is to come." (Respecting this comp. the Acts of the Apostles xix. 4, wherein St Paul instructs the disciples of St John as to the meaning of their baptism.)

St Matthew iii. 2. As the motive for the *μετανοοῦν*, "to repent," the existence, or the being at hand, of the kingdom of God, is rendered prominent, a kingdom which excludes all those persons who are in their natural and unchanged state of mind. (The perfect *ἤγγικε*, "has become near, i.e. is at hand," [from *ἐγγίζω*] must be taken in the sense of the present, so that the meaning will be: the kingdom of God is already at hand, viz. in the person of the Messiah who represents it, of whom St John the Baptist says: *μέσος ὑμῶν ἵστηκεν, ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἰδατε*, i.e. there stands one among you whom ye know not, John i. 26). Besides, the expression *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, signifying the kingdom of heaven, is only found in St Matthew, (in 2 Tim. iv. 18 is found *βασιλεία ἐπουράνιος*, i.e. the heavenly kingdom). The more common expression is, *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, i.e. kingdom of God, of Christ,¹ or simply *βασιλεία*, with the completing word *Θεοῦ* "under-

¹ The expression *βασιλεία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, "kingdom of the Son

stood," [Luke xii. 32, and al. freq.] In the Old Testament the expression מְלָכוּת הַשָּׁמַיִם "kingdom of heaven," or מְלָכוּת הָאֱלֹהִים "kingdom of God," does not occur, for it is only found in Jewish writings of a subsequent period. In the Apocrypha the expression βασιλεία Θεοῦ, "kingdom of God," is to be found, however, in Wisd. x. 10. The *idea* of the kingdom of God, on the contrary, pervades all the writings of the Old Testament, but it is most developed in the prophets. (Comp. Isa. ii. 1—4; Micah iv. 3 sqq.; Isa. xi. 1 sqq.; Ps. lxxxv. 11, 12; Jer. xxxiii. 5 sqq.; xxxi. 31 sqq.; xxxii. 37 sqq.; xxxiii. 14 sqq.; Ezek. xxxiv. 23 sqq.; xxxvii. 24 sqq.) Daniel describes in express terms the expected sanctification of all things, which was regarded by all the prophets as a coming event, as a kingdom of everlasting duration, [Dan. ii. 44; vii. 14, 27] as indeed likewise frequently the Messiah as a king, in which sense David especially is regarded as his prototype [Dan. ix. 25; Ps. ii. 6; Zech. xiv. 9; Ezek. xxxvii. 24.] The fundamental idea of the expected kingdom of God, as foreshadowed in the Old Testament, is no other than that revealed in the New Testament. The idea of a kingdom necessarily implies two distinct ideas, viz. that of a person determining [ruling], and the one of a person dependant [subject]. But in the kingdom of God, the divine will appears as the one absolutely reigning; for, in so far as the Divine will is conceived as being neglected in this sinful world, in the same proportion is the condition of his absolute dominion one of a future period. Hence, the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, "kingdom of God," forms a contrast with the βασιλεία τῆς ἀμαρτίας, "kingdom of sin," or with its representative ἀρχων τοῦ κόσμου ταύτου, "the prince or ruler of this world." The coming of the former kingdom involves the destruction of the latter, and the dominion of the latter restricts the influence of the former. But as the Old Testament, more especially in the prophecies, does not fully develop the ideas put forward, not presenting them to the mind in their continual progression throughout the course of time, and only, as it were, concentrates them into one picture; so it is, in like manner, with regard to the revelations concerning the kingdom of God.

of Man," (Matth. xiii. 41,) is rarely used for βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ, "kingdom of the Christ, or Messiah." In Mark xi. 10, the passage βασιλεία τοῦ Δαβὶδ, "kingdom of David," occurs because David is regarded as the type of the king Messiah.

The prophetic communications contain living descriptions of it, according to which the dominion of sin appears to be overcome internally and externally, and the dominion of God and of his will appears to be established; but the *external* and *internal* are not properly kept separate therein, but are taken in connection, hence it is particularly their subjection the one to the other which is not defined, on the contrary, the great picture of the pure development of life of the creation is drawn at once in a perspective view, whereby those things which are separated by great spaces therein appear as standing close to one another. Whatever is in the germ in the Old Testament, appears in the New Testament freely and fully developed, which thus alone displays in its fulness the fundamental idea included therein. The divine kingdom appears, accordingly, as a kingdom which exists for ever, which is founded on the protevangel in the fallen human race, which is typically represented in the Mosaic theocracy, but which is represented in Christ completed essentially in knowledge, which, ever since his appearance, continues growing secretly in the world of spirits, to obtain a final victory over all—to effect a harmonious amalgamation of external and internal forms of life throughout the kingdom of creation. With closer regard to this development of the idea of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ in the writings of the New Testament, there is clearly manifested in the New Testament the separation of the *external* and *internal* portion. In the *latter* relation the βασιλεία τ. θ. appears, according to the view of the New Testament, as one really present, not only in the person of our Redeemer himself, but likewise in those believing in him, who have been transplanted into his element of life. In the internal life and the knowledge of the Spirit, the absolute dominion of the Deity (in faith) appears as being realized. Conceived thus, as the divine kingdom in the world of the Spirit, it appears, as we find it in St Luke xvii. 21, where the passage is given thus: ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντός ὑμῶν ἐστιν, i.e. the dominion of God is within you, (comp. Rom. xiv. 17). But in *external* relation, the kingdom of God appears likewise in the New Testament as one yet to come, and to be desired. The element of the Spirit of Christ, which ensures to itself a dominion in the deepest recesses of the internal life, strives after an unconditional dominion over all connected therewith; the extension of the dominion of the godly life in Christ over things external is, however, of a gradual character, and

hence to be hoped for by the faithful by slow degrees only. But in this relation to external things, we find in the New Testament a *twofold* modification of the idea. *Firstly*, the circle of life within which reigns the element of Christ, (the church) is taken in its visible manifestation as an external communion. In this view the βασιλεία *r. l.* itself appears as being about to come, as developing itself gradually in this sinful world, being as yet in a relative commixture with the elements of sin. (Comp. on Matth. xiii. 47 sqq.) For, only in the person of the Redeemer himself, the βασιλεία manifests itself as perfect both externally and internally. *Secondly*, the external is conceived as being made homogeneous with the internal, and as being equally penetrated by the all-ruling will of God, and in this respect the βασιλεία appears as an absolutely perfected but future one. That which must become mighty only in the spiritual world, is ultimately represented as predominant even in the κτίσις, "creature" [Rom. viii. 19 sqq.] In this view the βασιλεία, "kingdom," might be called an ἐπίγειος, "earthly," (the counterpart of οὐράνιος, "heavenly," 2 Tim. iv. 18), meanwhile, however, this appellative is, for good and sufficient reasons, not found; but the idea itself is found everywhere throughout the New Testament, in the promise made that in the παρουσία, "advent," the kingdom of God shall become externally predominant. (Comp. on Matth. xx. 21; xxvi. 29; Luke xxi. 31; John xviii. 36). Meanwhile, in very many places, the internal and external parts are, as in the Old Testament, not clearly defined, but are commingled in a manner of great generality and vagueness. The βασιλεία then becomes the ideal world to come. (Comp. Luke xxiii. 42, the words of the one malefactor,) which, as present to the souls of believers, and as absent from the mass of mankind, may hence be said to be both present and absent at one and the same time. Another distinction, in like manner, unknown in the Old Testament, in the idea of the kingdom of God, is the reference which it has in the New Testament, at one time to a single *individual*, and at another to the *totality of the human race*. According to these different views, the βασιλεία is thus represented both as having come, and as being about to come. For, in as far as the spiritual element that, together with Christ, penetrates mankind, and establishes in it the kingdom of God, has seized an individual, in so far does the kingdom of God *exist in him*, and *he* in the kingdom of God; but the idea of its being to come applies

likewise to such an individual, not only in so far as the elements of this higher life gradually take possession of all his powers, but likewise in so far as the principle existing in him will be that of the totality, and will be received thereby independent of him. Similar to the former is the relation of the community (conceived as a greater individuality); for, although the kingdom of God (in the church) is in it, and it (through the faithful, as the representatives of the mass) in the kingdom of God, yet is the kingdom of God likewise for it to come.

Hence the one idea of the kingdom of God appears, in the New Testament only, to be applied in various senses, and according to existing contrasts, at one time the one, and at another the other of the senses are rendered more prominent. Among the great mass of the Jews enslaved by Pharisaism, the conception of the external appearance of the Messiah's kingdom predominated; in opposition to this materialist view, our Redeemer brought forward the ideal part of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, "kingdom of God." Even during the apostolic period were developed the germs of gnostic idealism, by which is denied the future external and real manifestation of the dominion of the divine one, as promulgated in the doctrine of the βασιλεία; hence it was that the latter had to be protected against the inroads of the former. The rude chiliasm of the ancient church had to be met at a subsequent period by the ideal view of the kingdom of God, as propagated by the adherents of the Alexandrian church, and owing to its influence, the idea of its being in the nature of Divine things to penetrate and rule the external through the internal, the individual as well as the total, was gradually forced into the background. The true biblical realism points out the *via media*, or safe middle path, which exists between the two by-ways of materialism and spiritualism in the doctrine of the βασιλεία, it is not ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, "of this world," but it is ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, "in the world" (John xviii. 36); and as it develops itself in the individual upon whom it takes hold from the most internal source of life outwards even to the sanctification and glorification of the body, so likewise it gradually transfers itself from those individuals who represent individually the kingdom of God, to the totality of the human race, and transforms not only the earth to a state of paradisaical purity, but finally perfects the whole universe, producing a new heaven and a new earth (2 Peter iii. 13; Revel. xxi. 1).

Finally, let us cast a glance at the passage here treated of (Matth. iii. 2), and let us inquire in what sense St John the Baptist may have regarded the βασιλεία, as it will appear most probable that he received it, owing to his position under the law, in the general and vague sense of the Old Testament, perhaps even with a certain predominance of the external view, yet without adding any false notions to the idea itself. For we may always admit of a certain relation existing between the imaginations of St John and the prevailing national views concerning the kingdom of the Messiah; the belief that the kingdom of God would present itself as an external kingdom, was in itself not at all false, it rather implied in a direct manner its fulfilment. But the thing really false was, that men expected and wished for the external without the addition of the internal. Hence, as carnal man creates for himself a carnal god according to his own liking, in like manner does he create a like kingdom of God, whereas the spiritual man has a spiritual God and a spiritual kingdom of God; and as the true God became man, so in like manner the kingdom of God, or of heaven, becomes an earthly one, in order that heaven and earth may celebrate a complete reconciliation.

Matth. iii. 3. The manifestation of the Baptist is proved by the Evangelists from passages taken from the Old Testament, as willed by God. All the Evangelists (comp. John i. 23) quote the passage of Isaiah xl. 3—5. St Luke has given it in the most complete manner; like the two others, he follows the Septuagint, only with few deviations. St Mark adds also Mal. iii. 1;¹ but this passage seems to have occurred to his mind as being parallel during the period in which he wrote, for he partly cites it (from memory) with strong deviations from the Septuagint, and partly has he also copied the formula: *ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφῆτῃ*, "in Isaiah the prophet," to the passage from Malachi. Transcribers have, no doubt, converted these words into *ἐν τοῖς προφῆταις*, "in the prophets;" but that this reading is without any authority requires no proof. This passage of St Mark is a sign not to be mistaken that he had documents before him, and that he made use of them; he adopted the formula of citation

¹ Comp. to the passage Mal. iii. 1, moreover, the remarks on Matth. xi. 10; Luke vii. 27, where the same citation is mentioned with similar deviations, which evidently leads to the supposition that the same sources were made use of.

from St Matthew and St Luke, but added from memory, without changing the formula, the words of Malachi.¹ Besides, the whole prophetic passage is based on the image or figure of the entrance of a king for whom the ways are prepared. In so far as the king and his kingdom are spiritual, the heights and depths must be conceived in a spiritual manner, and must be applied to the frames and tempers of mind of unbelief and faint-heartedness, of pride and self-conceitedness, which should impede the ministry of Christ. The term *φωνή*, "voice," forms an interesting contrast with the *λόγος*, word of John i. 1. In the notion of the *word* the idea is contained at the same time which involves the articulated word; the *voice* denotes as such the notion of awakening, stirring. St John brought no new idea into the world of man, he ruled over no peculiar province of life into which he might have transposed mankind; he was a mere organ to effect a mighty spiritual revolution in the spiritual wilderness of mankind; he awakened the necessity which the Redeemer appeased. (The *Φάραγξ*, "precipice," of Luke iii. 5, 6, is = *ράφος*, "trench, valley;" in the New Testament it is only to be found in this place. The counterpart of it is *βουνός*, a "hill or rising ground," and *ὄρος*, "a mountain." The former expression, *βουνός*, is also met with Luke xxiii. 30. The Septuagint uses it for *הַרְבֵּעַ*, "elevation, hill." On *σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "the salvation of God," comp. Luke ii. 30; Acts of the Apostles xxviii. 28. *Σωτηρία*, used similarly, we find Luke i. 69. In the concluding formula, *ἴψεται πάντα σὰρξ κ. τ. λ.*, "all flesh shall behold," the Evangelist follows the Septuagint against or notwithstanding the Hebrew text, wherein is wanting the expression *σωτήριον τ. θ.*, "the salvation of God." The words *ὀφθῆσεται δόξα τοῦ κυρίου*, "the glory of the Lord shall be seen," on the other hand, which we find in the Septuagint according to the original text, have been omitted by St Luke. Besides, the ministry of the Redeemer is represented in the prophecy in its completion, agreeing in every respect with the dominant views of the Old Testament.)

Ver. 4—6. The raiment and manner of life of the Baptist corresponds quite with the picture given of Elijah the Tishbite

¹ The supposition of *Hengstenberg* (Chistol. vol. iii. p. 398 sqq.; 464 sqq.), that St Mark used the passage of Malachi as one belonging to Isaiah, because the former had borrowed it from the latter, and hence that Malachi is but the *auctor secundarius*, appears to me as being forced, for the words remain after all those of Malachi.

(2 Kings i. 8; comp. Zech. xiii. 4); St John lived and acted in a rude and severe ascetic manner. (*Ἀκρίς* is the great well-known eastern locust, a food of the poor, Levit. xi. 22.) By this very strict form of his life, and by the rebuking earnestness of his character, the prophet awakened the slumbering; it appeared as though an apparition of former ages had appeared in the present time so destitute of the spirit. The *φωνὴ βοῶντος*, "the voice of one crying," resounded mightily throughout the wilderness; those that had been awakened collected around the prophet, in order to ease their conscience. The *βαπτισμός*, "baptism," as well as the *ἰξομολόγησις*, "confession," are noticed as the forms under which the ministry of St John represented itself. The confession must be conceived as a condition of baptism, inasmuch as the latter was to be, as it were, a type of the forgiveness of sin which would be fulfilled by the coming Messiah, which required a pure *μετάνοια*, "repentance." Therefore, wherever the confession was wanting, there the baptism had no effect (comp. ver. 7 sqq. containing the reprehension of the Pharisees). But the confession was not required as an especial confession of solitary deeds (although this cannot be excluded in individual cases), it was rather to be a pure expression and announcement of the necessity, which was as such recognisable to the prophetic and searching spirit of St John.

Ver. 7. What St Luke comprises in the expression "*ἔχθροι*, "people" (excluding the few honest-minded), is expressed in a more definite manner by St Matthew by *φαρισαῖοι*, "Pharisees," and *σαδδουκαῖοι*, "Sadducees." These Jewish sects, so well-known in ecclesiastical history, appear in the New Testament as the representatives of hypocritical superstition and of carnal unbelief. *Pharisaism* had nevertheless a deeper foundation; it rested on the basis of the word of God, with which had been joined mere traditional precepts. Hence, although the Pharisees, regarded as a body, are always attacked in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels, inasmuch as they had fallen into hypocrisy, and made a profession of godliness in consequence of their confounding the external with the internal, still there were always found among them individual believers. But *Sadduceism* was without any deep and true foundation, or any element of a more exalted life; in it we behold represented pure worldliness, which nevertheless frequently seems to be united with a degree of good intention. Hence this order was of little importance,

whereas Pharisaism, which bore in itself a positive character, was at the same time more dangerous in its degenerate state, and in its nobler phase was also more susceptible of a coalition with the Gospel. Of the *Esseans* no mention is made in the New Testament, partly because they came not into contact with the great community of the Jewish people, and partly because their endeavours, though noble as a whole, were yet, on the other side, too much clouded by dangerous subtle errors to recommend themselves as worthy of imitation. Besides, it is the chief feature of the Gospel to present to man for imitation no other example than the Redeemer, in whom is contained the fulness of all things worthy of being desired. Moreover, there was no cause for positive polemics against the *Esseans*, inasmuch as their definite sectarian character caused them to be known only in certain small circles, and inasmuch as the element of Christian truth contained the best antidote for the *Essean* heresies.¹

The address of the Baptist to the multitude which was under the influence of *Pharisaism* and *Sadduceism*, and which hence shared the foulness of these sects, takes the colour of the strict legal severity which St John represents. The Baptist contrasts in spirit the βασιλεία τ. θ., "the kingdom of God," with the kingdom of the prince of this world, and regards those impure minds that affect a purity of soul which they do not possess, as the types of this wicked empire. (The expression γενήματα ἰχιδνῶν, generation of vipers, = שרש נחש, "root or stock of the serpent," Is. xiv. 29, is certainly very harsh, but it is in accordance with the nature of love simply to call wicked whatever is wicked, and; according to truth, to trace it to its source. The serpent or viper here implies all that is of a devilish nature, and that it

¹ The notion that Jesus obtained his knowledge and information in the schools of the *Esseans*, is sufficiently refuted, if a correct view be taken of the *Essean* sect, which possessed all the faults that are common to separatists in general, more especially of covert or hidden self-conceit and hypocrisy. That our Lord knew them cannot be doubted, inasmuch as it was in Galilee itself that they were chiefly seated; that their appearance may have been to him somewhat of an incitement, is likewise highly probable; but it must be fully kept in mind, that the moral education of our Saviour was of purely internal derivation, derived from above through the influence of the Spirit, and hence, that *Esseanism* had no effect whatever on the cultivation of his mind; Christ brought down to earth a principle of spiritual life which was totally at variance with *Esseanism*, and every other human form of religious life, and which exerted a positive influence on every circumstance of his career.

is the wish of Jesus that it should be received in this sense, is evident from the comparison of Matth. xii. 34, xxiii. 33, with John viii. 44, Revel. xx. 2.) But their falling under the judgment of God must not be considered, nevertheless, as absolute, comp. with the Acts of the Apostles xiii. 10, 11; the exhortation following, contained in ver. 8, clearly expresses the wish that they should cease to be what they are. *As such*, they necessarily fall under the Divine judgment. Hence, this passage involves the doctrine of the possibility of changing, i.e. transforming the progeny of vipers into children of God through faith and repentance. (The words *ὀργή μέλλουσα*, "wrath to come," for which we find 1 Thess. i. 10 *ὀργή ἐρχομένη*, "coming wrath," express the idea of Divine penal justice, and hence the *ἀποκάλυψις τῆς ὀργῆς*, "revelation of wrath," = *κρίσις*, "judgment," comp. Rom. i. 18. Here, in the preaching of St John, the *κρίσις ἐσχάτη*, "last judgment," is no doubt conceived according to the Old Testament view of it, as being immediately connected with the Messiah's coming, inasmuch as the first and second advent of the Messiah are not kept distinct. Concerning *ὀργή τ. θ.*, "the wrath of God," comp. on Matth. xviii. 34.)

Ver. 8. With the rebuking words of the discourse of St John are mingled words of exhortation, which indeed strongly refer to the necessity of an actual manifestation of sincere repentance. St Luke iii. 11 sqq. contains the commentary to the *ἔργα*, "works," as demanded by the Baptist from his exalted point of view. (The *formula* *καρπὸς τῆς μετανοίας ἄξιός*, "fruits meet for repentance," is also found in the Acts of the Apostles xxvi. 26. —The reading *καρπούς*, "fruits," in St Matthew, is spurious; it is likely to have been borrowed from the parallel passage of St Luke.)

Ver. 9. The actual proof of a true feeling of repentance which St John claims, is contrasted by him with the pride of external prerogatives. (The expression *μὴ δοξῆτε*, "think not," occurs as unfrequently in St Matthew as the *μὴ ἀρχησθε*, "begin not," in St Luke. The former applies to the imaginary rights which the Pharisees thought they possessed, in consequence of their boasted descent from Abraham; the latter applies to their vain and self-conceited proceedings in proclaiming aloud this right to men, and in harbouring such ideas inwardly in their hearts.) The descent from Abraham is regarded as the centre-point of all the prerogatives of the theocracy. According to its true meaning,

this descent in itself was not so much a prerogative, as indeed a greater obligation to a divine life and conduct; wherever this obligation remained unfulfilled, there the supposed advantage assumed the form of a disadvantage. (Concerning the ideal conception of the descent from Abraham, and the participation in the prerogatives of the theocracy, comp. Rom. ii. 28, 29; iv. 16.) In order to teach the worth and true value of corporeal descent, the Baptist refers back to the free grace of God. As the birth in the bosom of the theocracy is a pure gift of grace, so the Almighty can disinherit all those who show themselves unworthy of such grace, and call to a participation of it such as were far from his promises. (The *ἡγείραι*, "raising up," with reference to the children born of Abraham, involves the idea of their disinheritance.) The words *δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἡγείραι τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ*, "God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham," may certainly be applied typically to the Gentiles, just as in our passage the *trees* are intended to typify the Jews in their Pharisaical propensities or dispositions, which was advancing towards its destruction. Yet, the additional word *τούτων*, "of these," compels us to suppose that the stones lying on the banks of the river Jordan are here spoken of, in doing which we must constantly keep in view the parallel with the history of creation; as God formed man of a clod of earth, in like manner can he likewise create even now men out of stones.

Ver. 10. In order that his exhortation might sink deeper into the hearts of his hearers, he represents the time as being decisive. Already in the Old Testament the moral world had been paralleled, as in this place, with the physical (Ps. i. 3; Is. vi. 13); the same comparison is frequently met with in the New Testament (Matth. vii. 9; Rom. xi. 17). The time of harvest is that of the *κρίσις*, "judgment," in which the fruit forms the main question. The fruit here demanded was an external *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," and a genuine internal *μετάνοια*, "repentance." (The *ἐκλόπτεσθαι, εἰς πῦρ βαλλέσθαι*, "to be hewn down and cast into the fire," are images or types of the *ὀργή*, "wrath," ver. 7.) In Luke iii. 11—15 is contained an extension of the discourse of St John peculiar to St Luke. It clearly reveals the position of the Baptist as altogether in the law. He recommends a faithful fulfilling of the law, but into the sphere of faith and of love the *φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*, "the voice of the crier out in the wilderness," does not penetrate. He only referred to *action*, in like

manner, as those desirous of instruction only asked, *τί ποιήσομεν* "what shall we do?"¹ (Ver. 13, *πράσσειν*, "to enact"=*עשה*, "to urge, to force, to require," *exigere scil. φόρον*, "tribute."—*Διασειά*, "to shake thoroughly, to use violence, to exhort by violence."—*Συκοφαντία*, properly speaking, signifies to play the petty and false informer, or fig-informer; but it means likewise to practise covetousness, avidity, comp. Luke xix. 8.) As a peculiar feature in the character of the Baptist, we observe, moreover, his child-like humility, which is indicated by what follows, but which St John for very good reasons carefully describes (in the first chapters) of his Gospel. Even at the time when the Baptist yet lived, his followers supposed they saw in his person the *Χριστός*, "Messiah;" but he himself humbly confessed his subordinate character and position, and referred his followers to the Redeemer. Much against his will, he served as an historical point of view, or epoch, to his self-willed disciples, of a much later period, who were of the sect of the Sabæans.

Ver. 11. Declining the dignity of the Messiah, the Baptist points at him to whom this honour is due. He calls him *ὀπίσω μου ἔρχόμενος*, "he that cometh after me," leaving undetermined when he would appear. St John the Evangelist, who took an interest in enlarging on the declarations of the Baptist concerning his relation to the Redeemer (on this subject comp. on John i. 19 sqq.; iii. 27 sqq.), mentions facts which prove that St John had a deep and true knowledge concerning our Redeemer and his work. St Matthew renders prominent, in the words of the Baptist, that Jesus had a more mighty power of spirit (*ισχυρότερός μου ἵστιν*, "he is mightier than I.") Hence, he compares his relation to the Redeemer to that of a servant to his master. (The passage *ὑποδήματα λῦσαι*, or *βαστάσαι*, "to unloose, or to carry the sandals," stands for doing in general the duties of a servant.) But it is more especially with regard to baptism (comp. on John i. 25 sqq.) that the Baptist renders prominent the superiority of the Messiah; he contrasts the *ἐν ὕδατι βαπτίζειν*, "to baptise with water," by adding the words, *βαπτίζειν ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρὶ*, "to baptise with the Holy Ghost and with fire." One almost here feels tempted to combine *πῦρ*, "fire," with *πνεῦμα*, "spirit,"

¹ Concerning the answer given in the New Testament to the question, *τί ποιήσομεν*, "what shall we do," comp. the Acts of the Apostles ii. 37.

so that either, πῦρ, would appear as the things accompanying it (as though the baptism of the Spirit would be accompanied by fiery appearances, as it was at the feast of Pentecost), or that πνεῦμα would be the thing explaining more distinctly the nature of πῦρ (= πῦρ πνευματικόν, "spiritual fire"), so that the fire, as a more powerful element, would form a contrast with the ὕδωρ, "water." Yet, the passages, Matth. xx. 22, Luke xii. 50, strike me as being favourable to the ancient mode of distinguishing of the threefold baptism (fluminis, "of the river," flaminis, "of flames," sanguinis, "of blood.")¹ The Redeemer appears here as the type of the faithful, who, like himself, must suffer, if not externally, at least internally, the consummating baptism of blood. In the triple element of baptism (ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, πῦρ, "water, spirit, fire") there is contained or indicated a progressive gradation of the spiritual development of life, and of the element through which it occurs. Whilst the lowest degree, i.e. the baptism with water, refers to the external purification of sins, and the μετάνοια, "repentance," the baptism of the spirit, on the contrary, refers to the internal purification by faith (the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, "the Holy Ghost," being considered as the regenerating principle, John iii. 1 sqq., Acts of the Apostles i. 5), and, finally, the baptism of fire expresses the transformation, or sanctification, of the new-born higher life in its peculiar nature.

Ver. 12. The discourse very properly concludes with the repeated warning of the proximity of the κρίσις, "judgment" (ver. 10), to fulfil which belongs in fact to the office of the Messiah. His judicial ministry is here expressed figuratively, viz. by separating the wheat from the chaff. The same figure of speech is found, Jerem. xv. 7, Luke xxii. 31. (The passage οὗ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ = בְּיָדוֹ, "in whose hand."—Πρόνυον=vannus, ventilabrum, "fan."—Ἀχυρον=χῆλ, "chaff," Ps. i. 3.—Concerning the expression, πῦρ ἀσβέστον, "unquenchable fire," comp. on Mark ix. 44.) In the verses in which St Luke iii. 18—20 concludes this subject, this Evangelist terms these discourses of the second Elijah, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, "to proclaim good tidings," inasmuch as they treated of the advent of the Messiah (and of his presence, John i. 26). The preliminary remarks of St Luke concerning the imprisonment

¹ De Wette very falsely views πῦρ, "fire," as denoting punishment; for the notion of baptism admits of no reference to punishments, inasmuch as it always serves to man's salvation.

of the Baptist, may have been caused by some digest used by St Luke, wherein the further account of the fate of St John was most probably given. What happened at a much later period St Luke anticipated in this place. (These remarks thereon, comp. with those on Matth. xiv. 1 sqq.)

§ 2. BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

(Matth. iii. 13—17; Mark i. 9—11; Luke iii. 21—23; John i. 32—34.)

The fact of Christ being baptised by St John contains something striking, inasmuch as in the ordinary way, no doubt, the inferior is blessed by the superior (Heb. vii. 7), but here the case is entirely reversed. For, the distinguishing feature of baptism and mere lustrations, as has been mentioned already, consists in there being one who is the baptiser, and another who is the baptised, and in the fact of the baptiser's introducing, or, as it were, raising the baptised to his own element of life. How the weaker can raise the stronger to his own degree of life, cannot well be perceived. A feeling of the impropriety of the baptism of Christ, indeed, penetrated the mind of St John himself, and he even confessed that he himself had rather need of a higher baptism from Jesus. Considered from an objective point of view, this was quite correct; yet, according to the Divine disposition that limits all things by certain bounds or measures, which applies indeed to the development of life of every individual (without any detriment to the liberty that finds its development in the circle appointed for it), St John was not called for the New Testament, he only formed the key-stone of the old covenant, and like Simeon (Luke ii. 25 sqq.) he beheld the Messiah without himself experiencing his regenerating ministry, i.e. efficacy; he was saved in the same manner in which were the saints of the old covenant, viz. through faith in the Redeemer to come. For, although St John beheld Christ, yet the redemption was likewise for him one which would take place hereafter, inasmuch as the ministry of Christ was only fulfilled after the death of the Baptist. Hence it forms part of the humility of the Baptist that he, occupying his station, in a pure and plain manner baptised Jesus; a formal refusal to baptise him would have been a mock

humility, i.e. a want of obedience to the Divine will, which had instituted or ordained this relation between St John and Christ. In order to understand all this, we here find a key in the words of Jesus, οὕτω πρέπειν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην, "thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness" (Matth. iii. 15). For, the expression δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness" (on the signification of which, in its connection, mention is made in Rom. iii. 21), here signifies=δικαίον, "justice," that which the law demands, i.e. what is right. Hence these words contain the general principle upon which our Redeemer acted, and which St John too had to obey; namely, to regard all the ordinances of the law as Divine institutions. It is true that this was no internal necessity (whence, indeed, πρέπειν ἐστί, literally, "it is becoming," is used, and not δεῖ, "it needs," or χρεῖαν ἔχω, "to have need"), but only a propriety, yet it was a propriety in the highest and noblest sense of the word; the contrary would have been an interruption of the harmony of life. Hence, as Jesus was, in a general sense, a γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, "one born or made under the law" (Gal. iv. 4), hence declaring the baptism of St John as being a Divine institution, he was obliged to submit to it; according to the Divine will, it was to form the moment of his anointing with the Spirit, and of his solemn inauguration to the office of the Messianic king.¹ Hence the baptism of Jesus forms a parallel with the ceremony of circumcision and purification (comp. Luke ii. 21, 22). The mediator himself took part as yet for some time in the sacrifices and other propitiatory offerings commanded by God for the temple worship, until he had rendered superfluous the repetition of all other sacrifices by the one made on the cross in his own person. With the water baptism of St John, to which Jesus submitted, was connected, according to a Divine promise, the *baptism of the Spirit*, which, by its nature, could not be imparted by St John; on the contrary, this baptism would form a sign, "ῥῆμα, σημεῖον," for the Baptist himself, by means of which he might infallibly recognise the promised Messiah. Through this spiritual anointing the height was attained of that

¹ What *De Wette* says, namely, that "sin slumbered in him," destroys the character of Christ's impeccability. The *possibility of sin* must be distinguished from the germ of sin, such as is harboured in sinful man. Like in Adam and the angels, previous to their fall, so also existed in Christ the *pure possibility of sin*, yet without his possessing a shadow of disposition to it. The above-named assertion tends to make God the originator of sin.

human knowledge which had gradually developed itself in Jesus, and that fulness of power was imparted to him which was requisite for the performance of his ministry. Even the pure offspring of the Spirit required the anointment of the Spirit; it was only when his human nature (the ψυχή, "soul") had grown strong enough for the support of the fulness of the Spirit that it remained stationary, and fully endowed with power from above. The baptism, therefore, was the exalted and solemn moment in which the character of the χριστός (ἡρώς, "anointed") which had slumbered in the gradually developing child and youth (as it were *potentia*, "in power"), now appeared for the first time (*actu*, "in deed"), and developed itself; the baptism was the inauguration of the Messiah, in his own presence, and that of St John.¹

Ver. 13. According to the account of St Mark i. 9, our Redeemer seems to have remained in the town of Nazareth up to the moment of his appearance in public. The internal world, no doubt, developed itself in him in a quiet and invisible manner. But as soon as his hour was come, which the Spirit caused him to perceive from within with undoubting certainty,² he then came to St John at the river Jordan (concerning the locality of the place, comp. on John i. 28, 29), in order to have himself introduced by this messenger of God.

Ver. 14, 15. The important conversation which took place between Jesus and St John *previous* to the baptism is related by

¹ Comp. the remarkable words in *Just. dial. cum Tryph. Jud.* p. 226. Χριστός δὲ εἰ καὶ γεννηταὶ καὶ ἔστι σου, ἀγνωστός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται, οὐδὲ ἔχει δυνάμιν τίνα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἠλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. (Comp. to Matth. xvii. 10, sqq).—"Now Christ, although he be born and be here, is unknown, and not as yet does he comprehend himself, nor has he any power, until Elias come and anoint him, and make him manifest to all men." At the end of the ministry of Christ (comp. John xii. 28,) there was a similar public confirmation through a voice from heaven, so that one and the same occurrence forms the beginning and the end of his public life.

² Quite erroneous is the notion, which assumes that Jesus made his appearance in public, according to a plan which had been minutely calculated and carefully preconcerted. His internal life only obeyed the will of his heavenly Father; whatever he inspired him to do was immediately done by the Son. The clearest knowledge of what he did was, it is true, connected with it; but every calculation, or speculation, and human plan-making, must here be considered as excluded, inasmuch as all this makes an inroad on the immediate unity of life in Christ and God.

St Matthew only. It is of the utmost importance for an insight into the relation which existed between the Baptist and our Redeemer; and even in this communication, which is peculiar to him, St Matthew bears testimony to the importance and originality of those narrations which consist more especially in conversations.

Ver. 16, 17. The form of the baptism of St John is described no further; whether he uttered any, and what kind of, words over Jesus during this rite, is not mentioned. Whatever is communicated occurs after the completion of the baptism, i.e. at Christ's coming up out of the water (*ἀνίστη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος*, "[when] he went up out of the water.") That the outpouring of the Spirit did not take place *before* the immersion quite agrees with the symbolical character of the act (comp. Rom. vi. 1 sqq.), which in itself, it is true, cannot well be applied to the baptism of St John, but which the Redeemer, by his baptism, typically imparted to the act. The one part of the act (the immersion) represents all that is of a negative character, the removal of all that is old (Rom. vi. 4); and the other half (the coming up) indicating all that is of a positive character, the coming forth of all that is new; hence it was this part of the baptism which was joined with the communication of the Spirit. St Luke (iii. 21,) adds, that Jesus prayed when he was baptized, which means, of course, that he was mentally absorbed in adoration. The action continues even after the coming up, and is divided into three parts, viz. the opening of the heavens, the descent of the Spirit, and the utterance of the voice. But that all this did not form a kind of spectacle, as it were, which took place before the assembled multitude, but, on the contrary, that it was beheld only by Christ and St John, appears quite clear from Matth. iii. 16, (*ἀνεῳχθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ οὐρανοί*, "the heavens were opened unto him"), and John i. 32. To perceive spiritual transactions or incidents, it is requisite to be possessed of spiritual eyes; he only who had them was enabled to perceive the acts of the Spirit. A presentiment not clearly understood, and produced by the mighty effects of the Spirit, may have penetrated the multitude for an instant at this sublime moment, when the blossom of heaven descended on earth; but the occurrence itself they did not witness. (For the analogy to the conversion of St Paul, see ix. 7 of the Acts of the Apostles). If we thus refer this occurrence to the spiritual world, we then shall require to have neither recourse to the historical mode of viewing it, (which calls to mind the Jewish notions,

of brazen vaults of heaven, and of birds who accidentally directed their course towards that spot where the baptism of Christ took place), nor to a mythical mode of explanation. The Spirit, the invisible cause of everything visible, contains in itself the ground of all things; the revelation and communication of himself is a predicate of his nature. The opening of the heaven, i.e. of the world of the spirit, hence, is nothing else than the revealing of the spiritual world to the spirit; every revelation of divine things is a tearing asunder of the heaven, or descent of the Spirit (Isa. lxiv. 1; Ezek. i. 1; Acts of the Ap. vii. 55). As little as the opening of the heaven is to be considered in a material sense, equally as little must it be considered as a mere imagination; it is a real effect produced by the Spirit upon the spirit. For the person of our Redeemer this opening of the heaven was one of a stationary or abiding character; the flow of his internal life into the everlasting abode of the Spirit, and from thence back upon him, never ceased again. The spiritual eyes of the disciples of our Lord were opened gradually for this purpose, in consequence of their intercourse with him, and henceforth they were enabled to behold the heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man (John i. 52). The descent of the Spirit, therefore, is nothing but the communication of him, which is his nature itself. God, as love itself, descends, by means of his Spirit, into the hearts of those who love him. In like manner is the sound of the voice a necessary effect of the Spirit. The Spirit, the creator of language, speaks for the Spirit, his effect is the pure word; *what* he speaks is understood by the Spirit in a direct manner, not by means of the physical or external ear, but through the ear of the spirit, i.e. through the spiritual being which is open to spiritual effects.¹

¹ From what has been said, it must not be inferred, that no part of the whole occurrence should have been visible and audible to those who were present. In the Gospel of the Hebrews (comp. *my* Gesch. der Evang. p. 81,) was the addition, that fire was seen at the baptism of our Redeemer. Inasmuch as all revelations of the Deity manifest themselves in light and brightness, this idea is not incorrect, only it is conceived in a material sense. There may have been, in like manner, something audible in the voice to *all present* (comp. on John xii. 29) But the so-called בַּת קוֹל, "daughter of the voice," is here entirely out of the question. The Rabbis assert, it is true, that it has been audible since the period of the second temple, or, what amounts to the same,

With regard to the comparison of the Holy Ghost to a *dove*, it is evident from the expression *ὡς*, "as," which is used by all the four Evangelists, that they wished to have it understood *as such*, i.e. as a comparison or simile. The reality of the phenomenon, it is true, is expressly rendered prominent (*σωματικῶς ἵδου*, "in a bodily form," Luke iii. 22,); but as a real spiritual appearance or phenomenon, it was invisible to the physical eye, and hence it is that the impression produced can be described only by a comparison with things visible. According to biblical symbolization, certain spiritual characters appear personified in individual animals, such as the lamb, the lion, the eagle, and the bull. In this natural system of hieroglyphics, the dove is the symbol of purity and cleanness, and hence it is with the dove that the Spirit of purity can be most properly compared.¹ The coming of the Spirit like a dove, hence indicates that the fullness of the Spirit of purity and cleanness, through which Jesus became the purifier of mankind, had fallen to his share. Thereby he was, as it were, sealed, i.e. confirmed, as the Son of God, and hence the substance of the words heard from heaven is: *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου κ. τ. λ.*, "this is my son," &c. That the expression

since the gift of prophecy disappeared from among the people of Israel. Yet, this can be regarded the less as an historical statement, inasmuch as the whole affair contains something which easily leads to misconceptions and abuses, so that it cannot be believed that Providence destined it as a compensation for the silence of the prophets. The heavenly voices of which mention is made in the New Testament, lose the striking features which they invariably possess, the moment we reflect that the idea of divine speaking (= to revealing himself) is to be found throughout the whole of the Scriptures, and that the same phenomenon is apparent in all divine manifestations. In these divine manifestations the voice is forgotten in the apparition; but where the voice only is heard, no notice is taken of the presence of the spiritual being, nor a mere invisible revelation. But in spiritual proximity the senses penetrate one another, and thus form an union for perception.—The name, "daughter of the voice," has been explained, moreover, very correctly by *Buxtorf*, *Lex. Tal.* p. 310, where it is called: *filia*, i.e. *vox secundaria, celestis vocis partus*, "the daughter, that is, a secondary voice, born of the celestial voice." In the terrestrial word they saw the echo of the heavenly word, and hence they applied the former as a prophecy of impending events.

¹ The comparison of the Spirit with the dove, is likewise to be found in the Samaritan and Rabbinical writers. In the tract *Chaghigah*, referring to Gen. i. 3, it is said: *Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aqua, ut columba*, "the Spirit of God hovered over the waters like a dove." The Christian sects borrowed the simile, no doubt, from the New Testament.

υἱὸς Θεοῦ, "Son of God," here refers to the divine and eternal nature of the Son, is evident from John i. 34. In it our Redeemer became, by the baptism of the Spirit, perfected, assured, and revealed in an especial manner to St John. (Ἀγαπή-
τός = דָּוָד, "beloved."—Εὐδόκεῖν ἐν τινι = בְּיָדָא, "to be well-pleased in or with any one." God is pleased only with the image of himself, hence with man in Christ only. Ephes. i. 6). Two circumstances are brought forward as peculiarly remarkable in the narrative of the occurrences at the baptism, given by the Evangelist St John, i. 32. In the first place, the πνεῦμα ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, "the Spirit abode upon him," (i.e. ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ ἔμεινεν, "came upon him and abode.") In these words the Evangelist puts forward in the Redeemer, what he evidently regards throughout as a peculiarity of the manifestation of the Spirit under the New Testament. Whilst the Spirit manifests itself for single moments, in its Old Testament form of ministration, he appears in the New Testament, with uniform activity, as belonging thereto. In the life of Jesus, we find this uniformity in the knowledge of his divine character represented to perfection, whereas, in the development of life of the righteous men of the Old Testament, there is always manifested an interchange of moments of an elevated character with others which are, as it were, void of the Spirit. The οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν, "knew him not," of St John i. 33, is also a remarkable passage. These words seem to contradict partly the passage of St Matth. iii. 14, which implies an acquaintance between Jesus and St John, and partly the nature of the circumstances which, as the mothers of both were so friendly, would lead to the knowledge of one another. But the term ᾔδειν, "to know," it is evident, is here by no means opposed to the supposition that St John knew Jesus *externally*, and that he cherished some forebodings concerning his exalted destination. But in order to obtain the divine undoubted certainty that it was in the person of Jesus that the hopes of mankind were to be realized, hence he required an express confirmation, which should be of such a nature as to place them beyond all the liabilities to doubt and deception to which they might be subject. As such a wonderful sign he regarded the outpouring of the Spirit upon him, which was made to him on occasion of the baptism. (John i. 33).

St Luke (iii. 23,) connects with his account of the baptism the genealogy of our Redeemer, inasmuch as he begins it accor-

ding to the prevailing national view (*ὡς ὡς ἐνομίζετο*, "being as was reputed,") with Joseph the spouse of Mary. But with this transition St Luke combines the important notice, that Jesus was 30 years old when he began his ministry. The additional term *ᾧσι*, "about," it is true, appears to render uncertain the determinate number of years; yet, as, according to Numb. iv. 3, 47, the age of 30 years was fixed for each Levite as the period of his entering upon his office, and as the Redeemer conformed himself everywhere to the existing regulations of the old covenant, hence we may conclude, with much plausibility, that the Redeemer was *not under* 30 years of age. Yet, there is no reason to suppose that he had passed the fixed number. In the life of our Lord everything has its number and measure, and it will be best to abide by the age mentioned. The only thing vague is, whether his public appearance took place in the beginning or at the end of the year. (With regard to the construction of the proposition, it is best to complete it by the verb *διδάσκειν*, "to teach," after *ἀρχόμενος*, "beginning." The combination of the participle with *ἦν*, "was," or of *ὦν*, "being," with *ἀρχόμενος*, are not in agreement with the whole connection.)

§ 3. THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST.

(Matth. iv. 1—11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1—13.)

In most perfect accordance with the preparation of our Redeemer by his endowment with the fulness of the Spirit, does his victory in his struggle with the evil spirit present itself. The idea of the Messiah implies his being called into existence for the destruction of the kingdom of darkness; hence his whole life on earth appears to be a struggle with the prince of darkness; yet, the Gospel-history points out two events only in the life of Jesus, wherein he resisted the full combined power of the evil spirit and overcame it. These momentous events form the beginning and the end of his public ministry, and both of them display their peculiar character. In the first temptation, at the very entrance upon his office,¹ enticement presented itself to our Lord

¹ Even in the Jewish theology, and from the general conception of the Messiah, an opinion had been formed that he was to be tempted by Satan,

in the form of sensual pleasure; and in the second, at the end of his earthly career, it was through the *fear* of sufferings and death. Each one of these temptations presents itself in a varied form; in the uniform victory over both we behold our Lord as the ideal of consummate righteousness, as victor in the struggle against sin. The narrative before us, describing the temptation of Jesus on the part of sensual pleasure, represents this pleasure as approaching our Lord in the three principal forms or aspects through which the world ever seeks to act, viz. the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life (1 John ii. 16). Hence this narrative expresses the perfect and satisfactory character of his victory over sin, forming thus a worthy introduction to the public manifestation of the ministry of the Redeemer, who was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin (Heb. iv. 15). The same temptations of pleasure that here encountered Jesus in a state of concentration, and in which state they were repelled, accompanied him in special forms throughout the whole period of his earthly ministry, presenting themselves to him at one time in one shape and at another in another. In like manner was our Redeemer encountered throughout his whole life by temptations on the side of pain and suffering, until they presented themselves at the end of his earthly career in the fullest state of concentration.

The mode of viewing the Gospel narrative of the temptation of Christ depends upon the position of the expounder relative to the doctrine of the devil and of evil angels in general. Reserving the further explanation on this point for the passage of Mat. viii. 28, we shall merely observe, that exposition can divest itself of the doctrine of the existence of evil spiritual beings, only through the highest degree of arbitrariness, inasmuch as we are taught even by the Old Testament, although, for wise reasons, in a mystical manner, that man did not produce evil from within himself (in which case the idea of a redemption, which presupposes a subjection to a foreign, i.e. external power, would be utterly destroyed), but because he was misled by an evil power, whereby he becomes exposed to its influence (comp. Genes. iii. 1; Levit. xx. 6; Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37; Job i. 6; Isaiah liv. 16; Zechariah iii. 1). In the New Testament this doctrine is even at the very entrance upon his office. (Comp *Schöttgen's* work, *Jesus der wahre Messias*; aus der Jüdischen Theologie dargestellt. Leipzig, 1748. 8vo. p. 754 sqq.

confirmed by Christ partly by the general presupposition, which is manifest in innumerable discourses of his, that the kingdom of the good is opposed by a kingdom of the evil (comp. Matth. xii. 26 sqq.), and partly by express declarations concerning this doctrine (Matth. xiii. 39; John viii. 44; xiv. 30), which admit to an unbiassed commentator no other mode of explanation whatever. Hence, if the expounder finds himself necessitated to include the doctrine of the existence of the devil within the circle of the doctrines of Jesus and the apostles, he then will be able the less to bestow his approbation on expositions of the history of the temptation, which apply the expression *διάβολος*, "devil" (in St Matthew and St Luke, for which St Mark has the term *σατανᾶς*, "satan"), to every human adversary and tempter, since the idea of Christ necessarily contains the idea of his struggle against evil in its state of concentration. The whole biblical doctrine of the relation of Christ to the kingdom of evil, though we were not possessed of the history of the temptation, would lead us to the very same idea exemplified therein. But if we are unable to adopt for ourselves this latter exposition, so this must be the case in a far higher degree with all those who regard the temptations so clearly defined in the history of the temptation of Christ as having emanated from within the Redeemer himself. *Schleiermacher* is not wrong when he writes: "Had Jesus cherished such thoughts (as the tempter expressed to him,) in the faintest degree, he would have been Christ no longer; hence, this manner of exposition appears to me the most wicked Neoteric outrage that can be committed against his person." (*Versuch über den Lucas*, p. 54). The absolute purity of Jesus permitted in no ways the derivation *from* himself of an impure idea; as the first Adam, according to the deeply significant narrative of the book of Genesis, was tempted *from without*, so was in like manner the second Adam (1 Cor. xv. 47), only with this difference, that the latter was victorious.¹ But *Schleiermacher's* own opinion that the temptation is a mere parabolical narrative, which has been misunderstood at a subsequent period, a view, too,

¹ The hypothesis raised by *Meyer*, (in Part 2, of *Ullmann's* and *Umbreit's* Stud. und Krit. for the year 1831,) that the history of the temptation is a *dream*, to which he compares the dream of Solomon, (1 Kings iii. 5 sqq.) does not essentially differ from this view. For, if these ideas of the tempter could have arisen in the heart of Christ, even in a dream, his purity then would have been polluted. But if the

which has been embraced by *Ullmann* (Stud. und Krit. part 1, p. 59 sqq.), has been completely refuted by *Usteri* (Stud. und Krit. part 4. 1832). We have here, there is no doubt, a clear fact disfigured by no mythical elements (*Blätter f. höher. Wahrh.* vol. v. p. 247 sqq.); yet, it may be doubted even, from a purely biblical point of view, whether the Satan standing before Christ, as narrated in the history of temptation, was an external or corporeal manifestation. It seems that this can be answered in the negative for more than one reason. For, in the first place, we are unable to produce an analogous fact either from the Old or the New Testament; for, the narrative contained in Genes. iii. 1, in whatever light we may view it, cannot be regarded at least as an *appearance* of the devil. But then the supposition of an external appearance of the prince of darkness would contribute nothing to explain this fact; for, even if the physical guiding of Jesus through the air be regarded as a fact, still it would be incomprehensible how *all* the kingdoms of the earth could be surveyed from one mountain. The words of the tempter outwardly expressed must be viewed, moreover, as being in connection with an internal operation, inasmuch as without it no temptation would have taken place; upon this operation would depend the actual fact as to the supposition or admission of an external apparition. Hence, it would be no doubt most agreeable to probability to transfer the occurrence as one of an internal character to the spiritual world; in that case there will be fully retained whatever is essential, while at the same time a true view will be obtained concerning this occurrence. The temptation will then be found as having consisted in the circumstance that the ψυχή, "soul," of Jesus was exposed to the most powerful influences of the kingdom of darkness. This kingdom of darkness displayed to the Redeemer, through its representative, its luminous or favourable side, endeavouring to withdraw him from the narrow path of his earthly development of life. (We find analogous phenomena in the Old as well as New Testament [comp. Ezek. viii. 3, xi. 1; Rev. i. 10; xvii. 3], and if we wish to connect the passage: ὁ σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός, "Satan is transformed into an angel of light," of 2 Cor. xi. 14 with the

causing of the thoughts in his dream were to be traced to some inimical power, the view itself then would be inoffensive, but then, too, it would be inconceivable why the whole occurrence, as stated in the narrative, should not have occurred during his waking state.

temptation, then this expression requires by no means an external apparition, but it may be understood as referring to the internal revelation of Satan as a good angel, in order to delude the more safely.)

Matth. iv. 1. After the baptism, the Redeemer left the river Jordan forthwith (comp. Luke iv. 1), and withdrew into a state of retirement for the quiet preparation for his exalted calling. (That the wilderness here spoken of is to be considered as such in the true sense of the word, is evident from Mark i. 13. Tradition calls it *Quarantaria*, which is in the neighbourhood of Jericho. *Joseph. Ant.* xvi. 1, *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8, 2). Inasmuch as this quiet preparation and the temptation, which was connected with it, was founded in the plan of God, it is called ἀνέχθη ἐν πνεύματι εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, "was led by the Spirit into the wilderness." That this πνεῦμα, "spirit," was the good spirit that filled Jesus at his baptism is indicated in the words of Luke iv. 1, Ἰησοῦς πνεύματος ἁγίου πλήρης κ. τ. λ., "Jesus full of the Holy Spirit." But from this it appears inexplicable how the question can be of a πειρασθῆναι, "to be tempted," in the Redeemer who was endowed with the fulness of the Spirit. (The meaning of the word is everywhere one and the same; it is only modified according to the object or subject whose πειρασμοί, "temptations," are spoken of. Used, when speaking of the evil spirit, it signifies to tempt, in order to be able to destroy; in this sense it is said of God: πειράζει οὐδένα, "he tempteth no one" [*Jam.* i. 13]. God, on the other hand, tempts in order to purify and to perfect [*Genes.* xxii. 1]. Used by man, when speaking of, or with reference to, God, it is always an emanation of unbelief and of temerity [*Heb.* iii. 9], inasmuch as it involves the contrast to a humble waiting for the intimation of God's will.) Yet must we include in the very idea of the Redeemer the possibility of falling (like the *posse non peccare*, "ability not to sin," of Adam), because without it no merit is conceivable.¹ But this possibility, it is true, can only be regarded as one purely objective, for, inasmuch as God became man in the person of Christ, in so far, indeed, must be attributed to him the *non posse peccare*, "the impossibility of sinning." This amalgamation of the possibility of falling and

¹ The very idea, so consolatory to weak man struggling with sin, namely, that the Redeemer himself tasted the bitterness of this struggle in all its forms, (*Heb.* ii. 17, 18,) would be destroyed, if the objective possibility of the fall of Christ were to be denied.

of the necessity of victory over evil, is a mystery which is one and the same thing with the idea of the God-man himself. We can render this connection perceptible only by drawing the line of distinction between ψυχή, "soul," and πνεῦμα, "spirit." In the human ψυχή,¹ was based his liability to temptation, and in the being filled with the πνεῦμα, the necessity of his victory; through the former he became like unto ourselves, and was made a pattern for us; through the latter he stands above everything human, and offers his aid to each single individual, by virtue of the same Spirit, to resemble him. In the last great temptation of Jesus, his sufferings at the end of his life, the Redeemer himself declares his abandonment by the Divine Spirit with which he had been filled (Matth. xxvii. 46); this abandonment, in which the humanity of our Redeemer stands, so to speak, isolated, gives a true picture of the nature of his terrible struggle in that awful hour. Here nothing is related expressly of such an abandonment; but we assume it to have taken place, especially inasmuch as the Redeemer does not recognise the tempter at once. The external fasting of our Lord in the wilderness was only, as it were, an image of his internal abandoned state; and this being granted, the temptation then obtains an essential meaning. In the perfect possession of the fulness of the Divine Spirit a temptation is unimaginable; the ψυχή, "soul," of Jesus could humanly struggle and militate only when in a state of nudity. Hence this scene must be viewed in the following manner. After the outpouring of the Spirit on our Lord, he went, guided by this Spirit, into the wilderness, in order to commence his great work in the deep recesses of his internal life. Here, as in the garden of Gethsemane and upon Golgotha, the Spirit which filled him forsook him, and power was given to darkness over him (Luke xxii. 53); pleasure in its most alluring forms tempted his soul. Yet the Redeemer encountered the foe, and obtained the victory in most perfect purity; and as soon as the temptation had been repelled, the fulness of the Divine strength returned once more upon him (Matth. iv. 11). Were we to say that the passage: πνεῦμα ἔμεινεν ἐν αὐτῷ, "the Spirit abode upon him," of John i. 32,

¹ ψυχή, usually translated "soul," is equivalent to the Hebrew נֶפֶשׁ, which means, rather, the principle of life within us, and as such is here represented as a something rather opposed to the πνεῦμα, "spirit."—T.

forms a contradiction to this manner of viewing it, then, indeed, would the same be the case with Matt. xxvii. 46, wherein, certainly, such a state of spiritual abandonment must be conceived. Hence, the same manner in which this difficult problem is solved in that case must be adopted likewise in this. My opinion concerning this mysterious connection is as follows:—The internal nature of our Redeemer was like that of other men, subject to vicissitudes; he had moments of the most abundant fulness of the Spirit as well as of partial abandonment; but then, in the first place, this nature was not liable to those frequent changes which, in sinful men, it is subject to; and in the second place, they did not intrude into the innermost sanctuary of his life. His ψυχή, "soul," itself was pure and holy, and in its perfect amalgamation with the πνεῦμα, "spirit," it was so entirely a ψυχὴ πνευματικὴ, "spiritual soul," that his soul acted even in moments of the uttermost abandonment of the overflowing fulness of the Spirit (as is to be understood of Matth. xxvii. 46) with the power of the Divine Spirit. This immutable tranquillity abiding in the deep recesses of his sacred soul, this perfect state of his inmost vital power, "*innerster Lebensnerv*," untouched by the fluctuations of disquietude, which, as well as the other consequences of sin, the Redeemer suffered for our sake; these are expressed by the μένειν τοῦ πνεύματος, "abiding of the Spirit," which forms a contrast to the fluctuating, i.e. changeful conditions of the saints of the Old Testament, who, as soon as the dark hours approached, could thenceforth be overcome by sin.

Ver. 2. The fasting of Jesus during the forty days evidently forms a parallel with the fasting of Moses (Deut. ix. 9, 18) and of Elijah (1 Kings xix. 8). Hence, we must the less take the νηστεύειν, "fasting," in the wider sense (i.e. for: abstinence from the customary food), inasmuch as we read of Moses that he ate no bread and drank no water, which agrees with: οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν, "he did eat nothing," of St Luke iv. 2. The Evangelists are anxious to place Jesus by the side of the great prophets of antiquity (according to Deut. xviii. 15, wherein Moses says, "the Lord will raise up a prophet *like unto me*"), hence he could do no less than they did. The number forty was considered, it is true, sacred by the Jews, but it does not follow from this that it ought not to be taken in a literal sense; on the contrary, the view itself entertained by the Jews concerning the sanctity of certain numbers has a deeper meaning, which, when considered as a general pro-

position, may be expressed thus: According to Divine regulation, which is pure harmony, every development takes place according to a certain fixed number and measure. The forty days of the temptation form an interesting parallel with the forty years of the journey of Israel through the wilderness.¹ All the scriptural passages, cited by Jesus throughout the history of his temptation, are borrowed from the narrative of this journey.

Ver. 3, 4. It is very correct to view the idea of applying all the higher powers imparted to him to the appeasing of his own necessities as forming the apex of the first temptation. The principle herein carried out, of using his wondrous powers only for the healing benefit of others, our Redeemer acted upon with self-denying love throughout the whole period of his ministry. The powerful claims of sensual instinct Jesus repelled by his faith in the Divine power, with a reference to Deut. viii. 3. (The passage כֹּל-מִצֵּיץ פִּי יְיָ, "everything which proceedeth from the mouth of Jehovah," is rendered by the Septuagint: *ῥῆμα ἐκπορευόμενον διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ*, "word proceeding from the mouth of God.") In this passage the manna (considered in the sense of an extraordinary heavenly food [Ps. lxxviii. 25]) is contrasted with the food offered by earth, and in like manner Jesus places here, in opposition to the thing terrestrial (*ἄρτος*, "bread"), things Divine. Hence, taken in connection with the whole, no other earthly food can here any way be understood. The *ῥῆμα Θεοῦ*, "word of God," must here be viewed as the efficient and creative cause of *every kind* of nourishment. As everything obtained existence through the word of God and by the breath of his mouth (Ps. xxxiii. 6), so in like manner it is the same word which upholds all that is created, inasmuch as their preservation is nothing but a perennial creation. Jesus rests upon his belief in this Divine power; as long as the Spirit retained him in the wilderness he fed upon the hidden word of God, which strength-

¹ Parallels such as these are admitted even by *Strauss* and *De Wette*, the defenders of the mythical character of the Gospel-history; but both these authors admit it in such a manner as to deny, in consequence of these parallels, the typical events of the Old Testament, as well as their counterparts in the New Testament, in their historical reality; thus, however, reducing them to mere child's-play. They can have a significance for the grave and sober mind only, when they are based on real occurrences, by means of which God, so to speak, uses a language of deeds.

ened his soul and body, without his effecting ought for himself by means of the gift of miraculous power bestowed on him. (Concerning *ἔγχεα Θεοῦ*, comp. on Matth. iii. 2.)

Ver. 5. The second temptation St Luke places the last, which is evidently less to the purpose. For, the first two ideas which the tempter brings before Jesus, may be assumed for a moment as proceeding from a good being, but the temptations therein contained lie much deeper; hence Satan herein did not betray himself in his true nature, for, it is only in the last demand that he betrays openly his dark origin, and hence it is, that we find in St Matthew the term *ἄπαγε*, "get thee hence," which justly follows it. (*Ἀγία πόλις* = *עיר הקודש*, "the holy city," which is the designation for Jerusalem, as the centre point of the Old Testament theocracy. *Πτερύγιον* = *כנף*, "wing," i.e. a side-piece of the temple, tower like, and with a flat roof.¹ His being led thither was *ἐν πνεύματι*, "in spirit," Revelation xvii. 3).'

Ver. 6. The apex, or point of the second temptation, lies in the idea of dazzling with the gift of miraculous powers; this idea, presented in a dazzling form, and clothed in Scriptural terms,² is conveyed to the heart of our Lord. Jesus instantly acted upon the principle herein proved; his miracles always had a reference to the ethical world of the spirit. The quotation of the Scriptural texts was intended to awaken in Christ the sensual gratification of vanity through the knowledge he had of his being the Son of God, and through the joyous feeling of the miraculous power dwelling in him; a humble obedience, a total casting off of the smallest portion of his own will, were the only things that ensured

¹ It is more than probable that the *πτερύγιον* here alluded to was the projecting tower called the king's portico, "which," says Josephus, Ant. lib. xv. cap. ii. § 5, "was one of the most memorable works ever seen under the sun; for whereas the valley was so deep and precipitous that one could not bear to look down on it, on the very edge of this precipice Herod raised the immense height of this tower;" and he then adds, ὥς ἡ τις ἀπ' ἀκροῦ τοῦ ταύτης τεγούς ἀμφω συντεθείς τα βᾶθη διοπτρῇ σκοτιδινοῖαν οὐκ ἐξικουμένης τῆς ὀψέως εἰς ἀμετρητὸν τὸν βυθόν, i.e. so that if any one from the pinnacle of this roof should look down through both these depths at once, he would be seized with dizziness, the sight not being able to reach the bottom of the abyss." This, then, would afford the tempter the means of exciting in the human nature of our Saviour the vanity of displaying his divine power by casting himself from so awful a height.—T.

² Concerning the use of Scriptural passages on the part of angels, compare the remarks on Luke i. 17.

him the victory. For the rest, the passage is on the whole quoted from Psalm xci. 11, according to the Septuagint, only in an abbreviated form. In their whole connection the words refer to all the righteous in general, representing them as being under the protection of God. But righteous humanity, viewed as a totality, finds a representative in the Messiah as the second Adam, and hence the *reference* made of this passage to Jesus is quite correct, but its *application* to self-induced circumstances it is what is false. (The ἄγγελοι, "angels," here appears as the λειτουργικά πνεύματα, εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστέλλόμενα διὰ τοῦς μέλλοντας κληρονομήν σωτηρίαν, "ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation." Comp. Heb. i. 14. The entire fulness of the heavenly powers is there for those who fear God, as says, indeed, St Paul: *All things* are yours, 1 Cor. iii. 21, 22.

Ver. 7. Jesus repels in his turn with the word of God the tempter, who places himself on the temple, and deals likewise with the Word of God. In the words of Scripture (Deut. vi. 16), we find the idea expressed, that every arbitrary application or use of a correct principle is a temptation of God. The words are quoted from the Septuagint. (The expression ἐκπειράζειν, "to tempt," is used Luke x. 25, 1 Cor. x. 9, only in a bad sense; hence, not of God's temptations.)

Ver. 8, 9. This passage, as has already been observed above, especially proves, that the temptation must be viewed as an internal act, or process. A glance at all the kingdoms of the world cannot, of course, be obtained from any physical summit; hence, it is natural to call in the aid of the assumption that a spiritual ecstasy must have been connected with physical locomotion.¹ The mountain from which Jesus surveyed all the kingdoms of the world, was the internal elevation of the spirit on which he stood, a point of view with which was connected the knowledge of its being possible for him to rule over the world. But in his holy humility and self-debasement he chose the cross instead of the throne. However, that there is not only implied a dominion over Palestine, but, on the contrary, a universal monarchy, is already evident from the Jewish notions concerning the Messiah, according to which it was the Messiah, who was to have the do-

¹ According to our mode of viewing, the question is also avoided, whether the ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν, "an exceeding high mountain," was meant for Tabor, or any other mountain; this is a question for the answering of which no data are given.

minion over all the nations of the earth. (Comp. *Bertholdt* Christol. jud. p. 188.) Considered in a spiritual point of view, this idea becomes perfectly correct and true.—But in this last temptation the proud *lust of power* forms the apex, or prominent feature, of the whole. In this temptation Satan reveals himself as the *ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, “the prince of this world” (John xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11), who wishes to make Jesus his instrument, i.e. to change the Christ into the Antichrist, inasmuch as he endeavours to blind him by the promise of dominion over the world, and the revelation of its splendour. As a reward, the tempter demands of him to be worshipped. (The expression *προσκυνεῖν*, as an external rite signifying to prostrate one’s self, to fall upon one’s knees, must here be considered merely as a symbolical expression of the internal spiritual process which was aimed at in the temptation, viz. Christ’s yielding to the will of Satan, his letting him rule in his inward parts, and the surrendering himself as his instrument.) It is even this, wherein becomes revealed to the Redeemer the dark nature of the being which brought before him those ideas which he repelled, and hence Jesus scares the phantom of night with an ὕπαγε, “get thee away.”—St Luke here displays a few peculiar features. To the view of the kingdoms of the world from the mountain, he adds, *ἐν στιγμήν χρόνου*, “in an instant of time”—*ἐν ῥίπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ*, “in the twinkling of an eye,” 1 Cor. xv. 22, whence the explanation of this scene in a spiritual point of view becomes the more recommendable. St Luke adds, furthermore, in his narrative of this temptation, to the speech of the Diabolos, the words, *ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδίδοται, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν θέλω, δίδωμι αὐτήν*, “for it has been delivered to me, and to whomsoever I will I give it.” The expression *παραδίδοται*, “given, or delivered over,” here contains a remarkable hint concerning, or against the doctrine of an evil fundamental principle; the *prince of this world* has received all from God, to whom as the everlasting *παντοκράτωρ*, “universal ruler,” only, all dominion is due. The confession of having received everything forms the most striking contrast to the demand of the *προσκυνεῖν*, “to worship.” Besides, whatever the tempter here says of himself, belongs to the Son of God in the purest and most true sense of the word. (Comp. John xvii. 22; Revel. xi. 15.)

Ver. 10. This last temptation our Redeemer combated by means of the first commandment (Deut. vi. 13), which contains in itself all the others. Only the *one everlasting and true* God,

the Creator of heaven and earth, can be the object of adoration; wherever the assumption of this Divine prerogative takes place, there becomes revealed all that is diabolical. (Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 4.) Through this preservation of the honour of God, not only *this* world, but likewise the *next*, became the property of Jesus; to him was given all power in heaven and on earth. (Λατρεύω is = עָבַד, and is stronger than προσκυνεῖν, which latter expression is used likewise when speaking of human subordination, whereas the former has reference to God alone.)

Ver. 11. The temptation of Jesus appears as one of those decisive events which also occur very frequently in ordinary human life, and which, through the decision then come to, impart their guiding influence to all the succeeding phenomena of life. As after the first transgression of Adam, all the sins which followed were but the development, or expansion of the original sin, so in like manner this first victory of our Redeemer appears as the basis of all those that followed. Our Lord here appears as standing between the two worlds of light and of darkness. As soon as the inimical powers had given way, heavenly powers surrounded our Lord, and together with him they celebrated the victory of good over evil.¹ The wish of the tempter was that Jesus should serve him; but instead of this the angels serve Jesus, and proclaim him as the king of the Kingdom of Light. The significant passage Mark i. 13, ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων, "he was with the wild beasts," contains, as *Usteri* (on the above text) excellently observes, a typical meaning, inasmuch as Christ appears herein as the renovator of paradise. Adam fell whilst in paradise, and thus changed it into a wilderness; Christ, on the contrary, obtained a victory in the wilderness, and changed it into a paradise, wherein the beasts put away their fierce nature, and wherein angels dwelt. Yet, that the great struggle of our Redeemer with the kingdom of darkness was not ended for ever, but that it had only ceased for a season, is distinctly expressed Luke iv. 13, where he concludes the history of the temptation with the following words: ὁ διάβολος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄρχη καιροῦ, "the devil departed from him for a season."

Since, according to this our view, the temptation of Jesus took

¹ Even after the second great temptation of our Lord upon Gethsemane, there appeared to him an angel, in order to strengthen him, (Luke xxii. 43). We may assume, that something of the kind took place likewise here.

place unwitnessed in the depth of his internal life, hence, the only source and witness we can produce to substantiate its reality is the narrative of Jesus. This, and similar occurrences, must have formed the subject-matter of the conversations which Jesus held with his disciples after his resurrection, inasmuch as he conversed with them concerning the kingdom of God (Acts of the Apostles i. 3). In order to become acquainted with the nature of this kingdom, it was necessary for them to know its foundation, and it was into this that the temptation afforded the deepest insight. The perfect harmony existing in the event itself, as well as in its introduction into the Gospel-history, in the narratives of St Matthew and of St Luke, who wrote independent of one another, all this taken together forms an *external* evidence of the event, to weaken which would always be a matter of great difficulty; the impress of its *internal* truth it bears in itself, and in the perfect connection in which it stands with the person and the work of our Redeemer.

III.

PART THE THIRD.

OF CHRIST'S ACTS AND DISCOURSES, ESPECIALLY IN GALILEE.

(Matth. iv. 12; xviii. 35; Mark i. 14; ix. 50;
Luke iv. 14; ix. 62.)

§ 1. JESUS BEGINS TO TEACH.

(Matth. iv. 12—17; Mark i. 14, 15; Luke iv. 14, 15.)

Ver. 12. Had we not been instructed by the communications of St John the Evangelist, concerning the mass of events which occurred between the public appearance of Jesus and the captivity of the Baptist (comp. John iii. 24), we should feel induced to conclude from Matth. iv. 12 and Mark i. 14 that the imprisonment of St John was closely connected, as regards time, with the temptation of Jesus. This fact is corroborative of the view already taken (Introduction, § 7), namely, that a chronological order or arrangement of the isolated events is inadmissible in this portion of the Gospel-history, inasmuch as it can be proved here, although only incidentally,¹ by a comparison with St John, that there is no connection between the things which are brought together. For, even if St Luke here makes no mention of St John (comp. nevertheless Luke iii. 19, 20), yet, he begins his narrative (iv. 15) with the usual proposition: Ἰησοῦς ἐδίδασεν ἐν

¹ Concerning the circumstance that no inferences may be drawn from this against St Matthew as a writer, comp. *Sieffert* on the passage above mentioned, p. 72.

ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν, δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων, "Jesus taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all," whereby this section becomes deprived of its chronological character. Similar general formulas are used by St Matthew, iv. 23, who thereby abandons, in like manner, *à priori*, all exact chronological arrangement of isolated events. Whatever can be admitted with any degree of probability, from the communications made by the first writers of the Gospel into the earliest history of the public ministry of Jesus, can be determined with precision only by the Gospel of St John. And vague as are the allusions as to time, equally vague are they as to place, especially in St Matthew. In the very beginning of this section (iv. 12), this Evangelist, indeed, lays the scene in Galilee, and even in Capernaum; yet, if we were individually to conclude from this, that St Matthew was unacquainted with Christ's actions out of Galilee previous to his last journey to Jerusalem, this conclusion would not be sufficiently well founded, because it cannot possibly be proved where the individual occurrences spoken of by St Matthew did take place, since this Evangelist, from a complete want of a chronological and local interest, has arranged all his statements from a certain general point of view.¹ Hence, if it is even probable that St Matthew, as a native of Galilee, relates occurrences which have an especial reference to Galilee, yet, his communications frequently assume so general a character (comp. from ix. 35 forward; x. 1; xi. 1, 2—7; xii. 1, 9; xv. 22), that the narrative may refer to incidents which occurred in Judea as well as to those of Galilee.

Ver. 13. After having indicated in a few great traits that our Redeemer chose Galilee as the main sphere for his ministry, St Matthew records the fact that it was not Nazareth, the place of abode of the parents of Jesus, which became the centre point of his activity, but that it was Capernaum. (Καπερναούμ, more correctly Καφαρναούμ = כְּפָר נַחֲוִים, "Kephar-naum," *vicus consolationis*, "the town of consolation." It was situated near the sea of Genesareth [whence the expression παραθαλάσσια, "near by the sea," comp. John vi. 17], in the confines of the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali, in the neighbourhood of Bethsaida, not far from the junction of the river Jordan with the sea.) The motive

¹ For further information on this subject, compare my programmes concerning the authenticity of St Matthew.

for leaving Nazareth is here passed over in silence; but according to Luke iv. 16—30, it was the unbelief of the Nazarenes which induced our Lord to withdraw his blessed influence from those ungrateful people. Parallel passages to this narrative of St Luke we find first noticed in Matthew xiii. 54 sqq. and Mark vi. 1 sqq., and the very history of the healings which St Luke connects with the occurrence in Nazareth, Mark i. 21 transfers to the very beginning. Hence, although it appears to us highly probable that St Luke has introduced the position of the event in Nazareth in a more correct chronological order, yet, have we preferred to defer the explanation of that passage until we should come to Matth. xiii. 54 sqq. A deviation from our principle, to follow St Matthew in this portion of the Gospel-history, we could have thought justifiable only whenever we should have discovered a sound basis for the certainly untenable view: that Luke iv. 16 sqq. must be understood as referring to a by far earlier and Matthew xiii. 54 sqq. to a second and much later advent of Jesus to Nazareth.

Ver. 14—16. The Evangelist St Matthew sees nothing accidental in the choice of this very locality, but on the contrary, he sees in it the fulfilment of a prophecy of Isaiah (ix. 1, 2). The passage quoted contains the prophecy, that the light of the Messiah would reveal itself in the most brilliant manner in the most despised localities of Palestine. (Similar to the foregoing is Micah v. 1). Besides, St Matthew quotes this passage in an abbreviated form, and only renders prominent the names of the tribes of Naphthali and Zebulon as well as the surrounding country of the sea of Genesareth, which last mentioned country experienced most the blessing of the bodily presence of our Lord, beholding at the same time the greater number of his wondrous acts. (The expression ὁδὸς θαλάσσης = הַדֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם, "the way of the sea," no doubt implies the western shore of the sea of Genesareth, which is here called יָם, "sea," just as πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου = עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, "beyond the Jordan," implies the eastern shore of the same inland sea. Hence, both expressions comprise its entire circumference; and according to the Gospel-history, our Redeemer visited, as is well known, both sides or shores of the sea of Genesareth). Of the dwellers in these northern frontier provinces in particular, it may be said, that they dwelt in spiritual darkness, partly, because they lived very far from Jeru-

saalem and the temple, which was the centre point of the Theocracy, in which places the true knowledge of God, in so far as it existed among the people, was concentrated, and partly also on account of the frequent contact into which they came with their pagan neighbours, which inevitably led to impure admixtures in their religion. But it so happened that these very dwellers of Galilee, who were considered by the strict Jews as semi-pagans, were best suited to receive the new doctrine of the kingdom of God, since they were freed from their stupid bigotry in consequence of their intercourse with the members of the neighbouring countries, and because their state of debasement clearly demonstrated the necessity of a redemption. Thus, then, as the sinner (i.e. as the repenting one) is nearer to the kingdom of God than the righteous man (Matth. ix. 13), in like manner our Lord revealed himself to the poor Galileans sooner than to the other dwellers in Palestine. (Concerning the contrast of *σκότος*, "darkness," and *φῶς*, "light," comp. the context with John i. 3, 4. *σκιὰ θανάτου*, "shadow of death," according to the Hebrew *לְמָוֶת* is generally used as synonymous with *חָשֶׁךְ*, "darkness." The Septuagint have derived it from *ל*, "shadow," and *מָוֶת*, "death.")

Ver. 17. After this notice concerning the locality, St Matthew gives briefly the contents of the sermon of Jesus. He confines himself to the same characteristic features which he states in iii. 2 when speaking of the sermon of St John the Baptist. These features were *repentance*, and its motive the approach of the kingdom of God. The sermon of St John naturally includes, in the first place, the annunciation of the Redeemer; yet, the notice given in Mark i. 15 must not certainly be overlooked, according to which the *μετάνοια*, "repentance," is immediately connected with *πίστις*, "faith," and, indeed, not only the common *πίστις*, which formed the basis even of the Old Testament,

¹ *Schleiermacher* (Festpr. ii. p. 93,) beautifully says: "Whenever Christ exhorts to repentance, he always does it with the word of power, which never fails of producing its effect. This word which commands repentance, which, in fact, creates the new spiritual world, inasmuch as every individual obtains existence in it only through repentance, is quite as powerful and efficacious as that commanding word, which called into existence the external world by which we are surrounded." Christ's sermon of repentance, therefore, is of a quite different character from that of St John; the former was accompanied by the Spirit which creates repentance—it is a gospel in itself; but the latter, like the Old Testa-

but, on the contrary, the πιστεύειν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, "the faith, or believing in the glad tidings." (Concerning πίστις, comp. on Mat. viii. 10; ix. 2; xiii. 58; xvii. 21). But in the εὐαγγέλιον, "glad tidings," there is expressed the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, "the kingdom of heaven," in its real presence, and this, too, as represented in the living personality of the Messiah who had been foretold by the prophets, and who had been so long expected. Hence, that in him was fulfilled all that had been promised and longed for, and that his new element of life (faith) only required a faithful reception, was announced by Jesus himself. The passage ὁ καιρὸς πεπλήρωται, "the time is fulfilled," Mark i. 15, clearly points (as does Gal. iv. 4) to a firmly based ordinance in its development, and to an internal legitimation of the same. The entrance of the Redeemer into the manhood, together with his public appearance among the people, were necessary termini agreeably to the divine arrangement or ordination.

§ 2. JESUS CHOOSES DISCIPLES.

(Matth. iv. 18—22; Mark i. 16—20.)

The calling of the two pair of brothers, Peter and Andrew, and at a subsequent period James and John (concerning whom compare the context with Matth. x. 1 sqq.), is here as little accounted for as it is completely represented. John (chap. i.) affords the certainty, that these disciples became known to Christ immediately after his baptism; and, hence, that they are here only adopted among the more intimate companions of our Redeemer. St Matthew and St Mark, who here follows him, wishes for the present briefly to intimate something concerning the calling of the apostles, in order to be able to proceed to that which he considered as being of the utmost importance, viz. the discourses of Jesus. (Concerning the passage, ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων, "I will make you fishers of men," comp. on Luke v. 10, wherein the idea is met with in a more determinate or explanatory connection.—'Ἀμφίβληστον, "a fishing net," or "drag," from ἀμφιβάλλω, "to throw around, to cast," is spoken of in the New Testament only in this place. It signifies a large double net, ment in general, demands without giving; for, even repentance is a gift of God.

whereas δίπτυον denotes a smaller hunting or fishing net.—Respecting θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, “the Sea of Galilee,” comp. on Luke v. 1.)

§ 3. CHRIST'S SERMON IN THE MOUNT.

(Matth. iv. 23; vii. 29.)

The Evangelist at first describes in general terms the activity of the now manifest Saviour (respecting the words here made use of see Matthew ix. 35, where they again occur) in order to describe thereafter more explicitly his ministry as a teacher. He bestowed blessings in every direction, and went about in order to do good, pursuing his course like the sun in quietness and grandeur. Unlike the law, he *required nothing of men*, but, on the contrary, *poured out an abundance of benefits on them*; he made clear by his acts that the kingdom of God was come upon them; to instruct and to heal, to renew the spirit and the body, herein consisted his great calling. (It is only after the captivity that mention is made of synagogues, συναγωγή = בֵּית הַתְּפִלָּה, literally, “house of assembly.” Comp. Joseph. Ant. xix. 6. 3. de Bell. Jud. vii. 3. 3. At the time of Jesus they were spread all over Palestine, as well as in the Diaspora; 480 of them are said to have been in Jerusalem. Meeting houses of an inferior character, in villages, or for small communions, were called προσευχαί, בֵּית תְּפִלָּה, “house, or place of prayer” (Acts of the Apostles xvi. 13). They served, like the synagogues, for the daily assemblies for prayer; those that were well versed in the Scriptures, without being exactly priests or Levites, were permitted to hold discourses in them.—Νόσος, “disease,” and μαλακία, “infirmity,” are what sthenic and asthenic diseases are to one another; whereas βάσανος, “pain,” refers to such diseases only as are accompanied by tormenting pains.)

Ver. 24. The report of the healing powers of Jesus (the efficacy of which is first recorded in a special manner at viii. 1¹) spread throughout the whole country as far as the borders of Syria, and all the sick and diseased collected around him. (Ἀκοή = שְׁמָעָה, “hearing, fame,” in Luke iv. 37 ἡχος, “sound,

¹ Compare, moreover, the elucidations on St Matth. viii. 1, respecting the cures effected by Jesus and the apostles in general.

noise."—*Συρία* here implies the territories of Palestine bounding on Syria, as well as the ordinary territories of Syria itself, which our Redeemer touched at in the course of his journeyings. The parallel passage of St Mark i. 28 is, *εἰς τὴν περιχώρον τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, "into the country surrounding Galilee."—Of the various forms of disease mention will be made hereafter. Concerning the expression *δαιμονιζόμενοι*, "those possessed by devils," comp. on St Matthew viii. 28.—*σεληνιαζέσθαι*, "to be moon-struck," i.e. to be lunatic," is met with in the New Testament besides this place only in the Gospel of St Matth. xvii. 15.—*συνέχευεν*=*רָחַץ*, signifies "to bind," to straiten or confine;" disease is considered as a power obstructing organism in the exercise of its freedom.)

Ver. 25. Moved by the mighty results of his healing powers, persons from all parts of the land of Judea joined our Lord, and accompanied him a long way on his journeys, in order to enjoy his communion for a longer period. (*Δεκάπολις*, "Decapolis," Mark v. 20; vii. 31. In *Plin. Hist. Nat.* v. 16 it is called *regio decapolitana*, and is a district of ten cities on the farther side of the river Jordan, belonging to the tribe of Manasses; the names of these towns, however, cannot be given with any degree of certainty, comp. on Matth. viii. 28.¹)

v. 1. After this preliminary description of the cures of Jesus, and of the impression they made upon the people, St Matthew introduces his readers at once to the great discourse of Jesus, which is usually called the *Sermon in the Mount*, on account of the surrounding country wherein it was held. But before we proceed to consider in detail this first great perfect *whole* contained in the Gospel of St Matthew, we beg to advance a few general remarks.²

The *Sermon in the Mount*, in the form in which St Matthew presents it to us, cannot possibly have formed a connected whole, when delivered by Jesus. For, the connection existing between

¹ The ten cities here alluded to are: Hippos, Gadara, Pella, Dion, Scythopolis, Gerasa, Canatha, Philadelphia, Damascus, and Raphana. *Plin. H. N.* v. 19. Ptolemy (*Geogr.* v. 17) mentions the former eight cities only; the two last are the additions of Pliny.—T.

² This important section, the counterpart of the Sinaitic legislation, has been frequently treated of separately, especially by *Pott* (Helmstädt, 1789), *Rau* (Erlangen, 1805), *Grosse* (Göttingen, 1819), and best of all by *Tholuck* (Hamburg, 1833). Among the fathers of the church, it was *St Augustin* who produced an especial work on the sermon in the mount.

the phrases is of such a nature, that it must be regarded as being highly improbable that our Redeemer should have so passed in speaking from one idea to another; a compilation of this kind could be justified only on the ground of presenting a written account, and as serving the particular purpose of the Evangelist. Decisive, however, in point of this assertion, is the comparison with St Luke.¹ In this Evangelist we find, it is true, a discourse of Jesus (vi. 17 sqq.), which is evidently nearly related to the sermon in the mount of St Matthew, and which seems to be as to the beginning and end identical with it, but which is much shorter than the discourse of Jesus as given by St Matthew. If any one was to say that the discourse of St Luke is only an *extract* from the complete one of St Matthew, we then would find in St Luke, most certainly, only two verses (vi. 39, 40) which are to be met with in St Matthew, as standing in a different connection (xv. 14; x. 24); but as these two verses are viewed in a gnomonic sense, hence, they might have thus been spoken more than once. But those portions which are peculiar to St Matthew's sermon in the mount, are to be found for the greater part in St Luke, and this too in so definite a connection, that we must regard it as having been preserved in this Evangelist in its original state of combination.² Add to this the circumstance, that in the Gospel of St Luke there prevails a minuteness in the historical combination, which is altogether wanting in St Matthew. Hence, if the unity or harmony of the sermon in the mount is to be kept in view, we then shall be necessitated to assume that those portions of it which stand in St Luke in a different, prominent, and fixed connection (as for example the Lord's prayer, Luke xi. 1 sqq., comp. with Matthew vi. 7 sqq.), were uttered *twice*. But as this supposition would hardly meet in modern

¹ *Tholuck* has decided in favour of the originality of the discourse as contained in St Matthew, by placing a particular weight on the circumstance that our Lord may have repeated some things twice. But even admitting this, still the position of the Lord's prayer in St Matthew, will be found as being less appropriate than that which this prayer occupies in St Luke. When *Tholuck* (p. 378,) says, that our Lord, in Luke xi. 1, may have repeated this prayer once more to some of his disciples, so this is possible, we admit, but yet not probable.

² Concerning the connection existing between the isolated passages from St Luke, which are parallel with passages from the sermon in the mount, comp. the subsequent exposition of St Luke, commencing at ix. 51.

times with defenders or supporters, hence, nothing remains but to adopt that view of the sermon in the mount, according to which its unity or harmony does not originate with our Redeemer, but, on the contrary, with St Matthew. St Matthew connected with a discourse held in reality under certain circumstances by Jesus, elements of speech of a similar character. Concerning those circumstances under which Jesus spoke, we find a minute account given by St Luke. Jesus (according to Luke vi. 12 sqq.) had gone into a mountain in order to pray there;¹ on the morning following this prayer, he completed the circle of the twelve disciples, whom he named apostles (comp. on Matth. x. 2), and descending into the plain, or open field (*καταβὰς ἔσθη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινῷ*, literally, "descending, he stood on a level spot," Luke vi. 17), he instructed the people that crowded together. The circumstance that Jesus, according to St Luke, descended from the mountain, and according to St Matthew, ascended the mountain (v. 1), may be thus made to harmonise, that St Matthew either connected his previous ascending with his teaching, without mentioning his subsequent descent; or that the crowding together of the people, anxious to be cured, caused Jesus to re-ascend the mountain after his previous descent, in order to be able to address from that place a much greater number of people. This discourse, then, appears to be one of the first public and solemn declarations made by Jesus to great masses of the people (hence the *ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*, literally, "having opened his mouth," of ver. 2, wherein *Tholuck* [p. 61] justly perceives a description of the solemn commencement of the discourse which was waited for in silence); as such it was made use of by St Matthew, in order to connect with this discourse all that was taken from other discourses of Christ, and which might have seemed as suitable to afford a survey of the peculiar character of the Gospel in relation to the Old Testament. Neither the oral discourse of our Redeemer, nor the composition of St Matthew, were intended as an initiatory discourse *for the disciples*; both were destined, not only for the disciples, but also for the mass of the people (Matth. v. 1; Luke vi. 17, 20); it was

¹ Concerning the locality of this mountain nothing certain can be stated. Some have thought, most probably wrongly, that it was Mount Tabor. Tradition mentions a hill near Saphetha, (Bethulia) under the name of "the hill of the blessings," as the one from which our Lord delivered this discourse.

meant to afford to all an insight into the nature of the kingdom of God. For, according to St Matthew, the discourse appears in the light of a second delivery of the law, which differs from that of the Mount Sinai only inasmuch as it teaches the most free conception of the commandments in the Spirit, and then sets forth the *μετάνοια*, "repentance" (as the effect of the law of Moses, Rom. iii. 20), preaching together with the law grace also, which becomes effective by the fulfilment thereof. This placing of the lawgiving of the New Testament¹ at the head of the ministry of the Messiah, was calculated for the theocrats of the Old Testament, who, with reference to Deuter. xviii. 15 sqq., regarded the Messiah as another Moses.

In both the Evangelists, in St Matthew as well as St Luke, there may be traced a connection existing between the discourses. This connection, of course, is more limited in St Luke, inasmuch as he gives the discourse only in an abbreviated form.² For, as in the first place, four woes exactly correspond to the four blessednesses (ver. 21—26), so do in like manner exactly correspond the exhortations to a pure, and not calculating, disinterested love (27—31) with the descriptions of that natural, calculating, interested love, which is insufficient for the Gospel (ver. 32—34); and connected with this is, finally (ver. 35—38), with a retrospect to ver. 27, the still stronger exhortation, addressed to the disciples of the new covenant, viz. to live in pure and undefiled love. The whole, then, forms a description of the spirit of the Gospel in

¹ The assertion that Christ is no law-giver, contains something that is very correct, and which I am by no means disposed to deny by my mode of viewing the sermon in the mount. The specific nature of the ministry of our Redeemer was not to bring any new law, but to free from the yoke of every law. In so far, however, as he taught them to receive the law of the Old Testament in its inward and spiritual character, a manner in which it never had been considered before, he gave, so to speak, the law of Mount Sinai once more, and perfected it. As the Son of God, moreover, this law, as given on Mount Sinai, is likewise his own law; Moses was only the *μωσής*, "interpreter," or the mere medium of communication; this law was not only for others, but it was a law likewise for *him* also. (Comp. the beautiful passage on this subject in *Schleiermacher's* "Festpredigten," vol. ii. p. 66).

² I cannot agree with the view entertained by *Schleiermacher* (comp. "Über die Schriften des Lucas," p. 89 sqq.) respecting the discourse contained in St Luke, wherein it is criticised unfavourably. The discourse is shortened, it is true, (only the woes seem to be explanatory additions, s. on Matth. v. 3.) yet, is it abbreviated essentially with precision, and in a connected manner.

contradistinction to the severe or rigorous law, only that this contrast is presented in St Matthew in a much more explicit and pointed manner. In ver. 39 St Luke makes a pause in the discourse by observing, that the Redeemer continued the discourse in parables (concerning παραβολή, "a parable," i.e. a short discourse, usually a narrative, under which something else is figured, in which the fictitious or ideal is employed to represent and illustrate the reality, comp. on Matthew xiii. 3). The phrase ἀλλ' ὑμῖν λέγω, "but I say unto you," points, no doubt, to an abbreviation of the discourse, inasmuch as St Luke has here omitted the more pointed contrast existing between the Old and New Testament, which is given by St Matthew in v. 18—48. The parable, in its elements, was adopted likewise by St Matthew in the sermon in the mount, only in a quite different order; hence we may assume with much probability, that they must have formed originally integral parts of the discourse of Jesus. Finally, the composition of the parables, as given by St Luke, is in every respect natural. For, in all of them is laid down the idea for the μαθηταί, "disciples," that they, so far as they would render valid in the world the new and exalted element of life above described, would have first to receive it in its integrity in themselves, and that they would have to live in accordance therewith. Hence, they would have to free themselves from their spiritual blindness, they would have to pull the beams out of their eyes, they would have to produce good fruit, and to build their house on the everlasting foundation of the word of God (which was opposed to the human word of the Pharisees), and then they would be able to be of service to others. The only passage which appears not quite to harmonise with this connection is ver. 40 (respecting which compare the remarks on Matth. x. 24). On a more minute reflection on the connection, it appears that even this idea is very appropriately inserted in that place. The very passage preceding it, μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν, "can the blind lead the blind in the way?" (ver. 39), as well as the parable following of the κάρφος, "mote, splinter" (ver. 41 sqq.), evidently point at the Pharisees as the directing power in the Old Testament life, such as it had formed itself at the time among the Jews. For, these were in a position of hypocritical activity, and with the desire to effect in others what was not in themselves, against which our Lord is desirous of cautioning them in his parables. Hence, the idea: οὐκ ἔστι μαθητὴς κ. τ. λ., "the disciple is not, &c.," is admir-

able in connection with this chain of ideas: "Free yourselves from your attachment to your former διδάσκαλος, 'teacher,' the Law and the Pharisees can lead you no farther than they themselves have proceeded, and the most finished scholar is only equal to his instructor; much rather turn to me the new teacher with decided earnestness, and then you will no longer continue blind leaders of the blind, but ye will walk in the light of the living."

As a connection can be traced in the sermon in the mount as given in St Luke, so in like manner is this the case with that of St Matthew.¹ For, although it must be assumed, that St Matthew connected ideas expressed on other occasions with those then brought forward by the Redeemer, yet, the Spirit of God formed in him out of them a new connected whole. The beginning and end, according to the narrative of St Matthew, agree perfectly with the discourse as given by St Luke, whereby their identity becomes sufficiently established. Only St Matthew points out the contrast of the Old and New Testament in the fifth chapter with much more care, inasmuch as he represents minutely the nature of both in a series of propositions. In this form the discourse appears more distinctly as a new more spiritual law-giving; but together with the law grace is brought at the same time to light, inasmuch as the exaltation of the commandments follows the exaltation of the blessedness of the poor and of those that mourn. Hence, true repentance, which necessarily includes faith, is presupposed as necessary to the reception of the law of love. To receive and to preserve thereby truly this more exalted principle of life, and thus to conceive correctly the relation of the gospel to the law, constitutes the idea mediating between the extolling of the blessednesses and the new commandments of our Lord (comp. Matth. v. 13—20). Of these new ones six forms are brought forward for example's sake (ver. 21—47), in which the spirit of the New Testament was nevertheless sufficiently developed, so that the general proposition of ver. 48, ἵνα ὦσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλει καὶ ἡμεῖς, "be ye therefore perfect, καὶ ἡμεῖς," might complete or finish this comparison. The Evangelist then continues, in the sixth chapter (referring back to v. 20), his comparison of the piety of the Old and New Testaments, conceiving the Pharisees, in the

¹ Comp. *R. Stier's* *Andeutungen*, vol. i. p. 104 sqq. Concerning the more special character of the connection, see individual passages.

course of his reflections, as the (it is true impure) representatives of the Old Testament, but yet as those who set forth the religious national life of that period in its true character. The inward and truthful character of the spiritual life forms once more the contrast to the outward and vain display of Pharisaical piety. The usual forms under which Pharisaical piety presented itself, alms (ver. 2), prayer (ver. 5), and fasting (ver. 16), form the points which served our Redeemer to direct the attention to the disparity existing between the Old and the New. The communication of our Lord's prayer forms here the centre point, inasmuch as in the first part of it there becomes apparent the spiritual striving of the members of the new covenant, whereas in the second there stands the *μετάνοια*, "repentance," the thing essential for the members of the kingdom of God, but which, at the same time, is the thing so much needed by the Pharisees. A treatise on the position of the children of the kingdom of God with relation to earthly wants (especially food, ver. 25, and clothing, ver. 28), fills the latter, or concluding portion of the chapter (ver. 19—34). This completes the contrast existing between the Old and the New, which prevails throughout the entire discourse. The Pharisees, in their mania to heap up earthly treasures (comp. Luke xvi. 13, 14), thus served two masters (Matth. vi. 24), and clouded thereby the clearness and simplicity of their spiritual view (ver. 22, 23); instead of this, a child-like trust in the paternal love of God, and hence, a total deliverance from all care for things terrestrial, is rendered prominent as the criterion by which we may recognise the children of God; and in this view our Lord's prayer, which contains all the wishes and cares of the children of the kingdom, is rendered much more clear and comprehensible. The ideas put together more loosely, i.e. with greater freedom and with less mode of combination in the seventh chapter, are kept together by the concluding exhortation, and brought into connection with what goes before. After the termination of the description given of the contrast existing between the piety of the old and that of the new covenant, the exhortation addressed to the hearers forms very suitably a conclusion to the whole, in order thus to express in every respect this character of the higher life in the kingdom of God. As the first condition of it, a constant view of our own sinfulness in true repentance, is here rendered prominent; and we are likewise warned not to slacken in our righteous endea-

vours, by directing our glance towards others (ver. 1—5); in like manner are we forbidden to pour out indiscreetly heavenly things on men who do not feel the want of them. To this negative portion is joined (ver. 7—14) the positive, viz. the exhortation to serious prayer and struggle, as the necessary conditions for the completion of the life in God. An invitation to a deep and thorough investigation of all the conditions, to the effects of which they would surrender themselves, then forms the conclusion (ver. 15—23), inasmuch as the last verses (ver. 24—27) describe in figurative language the consequences of a faithful application of the word of God which they had heard, as also those of a careless use of so beneficial a gift.

In this form, which the Evangelist has imparted to the discourse of Christ from the mount, there is constructed, as it were, a sublime portal, by which the reader of the Gospel is conducted into the temple of the ministry of Jesus. We may say, that his whole subsequent life, all his discourses and conversations, form a commentary to the sermon in the mount, in which is contained the quintessence of all that is peculiar to the kingdom of our Lord.

Ver. 3. St Matthew opens the sermon in the mount with a magnificent comparison of the fundamental features in the character of the children of the kingdom of God, and of the children of this world. The features of the latter, it is true, are not expressly rendered prominent, yet, they form as contrasts the foundation of the description; the praises of the everlasting blessedness of the one, have as counterparts the inexpressible woes of the others. St Luke, who, instead of the third, has made use of the more appropriate second person, has succeeded in rendering this contrast very distinct (vi. 24—26); yet, as he shortens the number of the beatifications, "Seligpreisungen," hence it is not improbable that he has distinctly expressed this contrast only for the sake of illustration. The discourse would, indeed, be too long and too monotonous if an *oiaí*, "woe! alas!" was to be placed opposite to, or connected with, each single passage of St Matthew. But were we to regard the fuller description of St Matthew as a carrying out of the shorter discourse of our Lord, this view then would meet with a refutation in the peculiarity of the phrases which are found only in St Matthew; a subsequent carrying out of the fundamental idea would display less depth and originality. Besides, nothing essential or of any

consequence is there wanting in the abbreviated form of St Luke; he has retained the first and last beatitudes, "*Selig-sprechungen*," and has only discarded the rich and glowing colouring. According to St Matthew, the position of the isolated passages is so arranged as to make ver. 3 correspond with ver. 10, wherein the words *αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, "theirs is the kingdom of heaven," with which the discourse commenced, are reiterated. Hence, there are found only seven beatitudes, since ver. 10—12 add, i.e. contain, no new idea, they only form a transition to what follows, inasmuch as they characterise, after finishing the description of the subjective character of the children of God, their relation to the world. In all the beatitudes, the one idea is expressed, viz. that, according to the law of God's everlasting retribution, all those who on earth hunger and thirst for the things of the kingdom of God, shall enjoy them therein in the fullest measure; whereas, on the contrary, all those who are satisfied with this transitory world, shall feel hereafter, to their pain and anguish, the necessity of things eternal. Hence, here is no contrast between virtue and vice; crime is punished even by the Old Testament; but only the necessity of redemption is placed in opposition to the callous deadness of the natural man, who, without a deep and sincere longing after things eternal, can find his peace and quietude in things perishable. Over beings such as these, *Wo!* is exclaimed, because the moment this transitory life, on which they repose, reveals itself to them in its true character, disquietude thenceforward becomes generated in them. Hence, Christ already has taken his stand above the confines of the law; the latter appears as having fulfilled its duty; the necessity of redemption by the knowledge of sin (Rom. iii. 20) is awakened; it only remains to satisfy it. What appears remarkable herein is only, that many of the features rendered prominent by our Redeemer (*μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, οἱ ἐλεήμονες, καθαροί, εἰρηνοποιοί*, "blessed are the meek, the merciful, the pure, the peace-makers") seem to go beyond the point of the awakened necessity for redemption, inasmuch as they express an internal condition of moral perfection. Yet, this phenomenon is easily explained, when we recollect how frequently the germ of the new and more exalted life is viewed as identical with its consummation, in the mode of representing it adopted by Christ and the apostles. A true poverty of spirit is included in every higher development of life as a necessary condition; and it is in

this unity or oneness that Jesus here views them. Viewed in this manner, the first sentences of the sermon on the mount contain a characteristic description of the children of God, which is founded on truth in every stage of its development, in the highest as well as in the lowest. For, as in the lowest there exists in germ the καθαρότης τῆς καρδίας, "pureness of heart," so in like manner there remains yet in the highest the πτωχεία τῷ πνεύματι, "poverty of spirit."

Ver. 3. The first expression of an instructive character which St Matthew makes our Redeemer to utter, is, μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί, "blessed are the poor," with the addition, τῷ πνεύματι, "in spirit," which requires to be added to the same passage of St Luke, wherein it is wanting.¹ The expression πτωχός here corresponds with the Hebrew עני, "poor," which occurs so frequently in the Psalms in an analogous sense. This expression borders on ταπεινός = ἡνῶ, "humble, lowly" (Prov. xxix. 23, הָנִיף לַיהוָה, "humble in spirit"), yet, it is not identical with it, inasmuch as a man endowed with the fulness of the Divine Spirit (Christ applies this expression to himself in Matth. xi. 29) may be called ταπεινός, "humble," but not πτωχός, "poor." The word here signifies (as in ver. 6, to hunger and thirst); it implies a state of spiritual poverty, pure contrition of soul. Hence πνεῦμα, "spirit," has no reference whatever to spirituality in a worldly sense, i.e. genius, spiritual or intellectual endowment (νοῦς, "mind or understanding"); for, the most spiritual, i.e. mentally gifted being, as well as the most spiritless, i.e. unideal, must become poor; but it refers to the collective, higher, and yet natural principle of life contained in man. The feeling of the inadequacy of this principle to true righteousness and holiness, and the longing after a higher principle, which is capable of leading thereto, i.e. the πνεῦμα ἅγιον, "the Holy Ghost," this is the condition of the entering of the βασιλεία, "kingdom," into the soul; yea, it is its very presence therein. For, the present tense must here be constantly kept in view in its strict ac-

¹ Strauss views the beatitudes of St Luke in a quite different sense, viz. in the Ebionitish sense, as referring to external poverty and want. But the New Testament is far removed from such a view; external poverty, without the internal, has, according to its declaration, no value whatever. But in so far as external riches, for the most part, appear to be coupled with a spiritual attachment to earthly possessions, in so far, indeed, may πτωχοί, "poor," have a reference to those who are poor in things terrestrial.

ception (as in ver. 10), inasmuch as the true *πτωχία*, "poverty" contains even within itself the germ of the heavenly kingdom, because it is itself the noblest fruit of effectual grace inwardly produced in man. The contrast (Luke vi. 24) is formed by the *πλούσιοι*, "rich," who, filled with the present nothingness, have no desire for the world to come (*ἀπίχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν*, "ye have received your consolation," comp. Matth. vi. 2). Hence, the *βασιλεία*, "kingdom," forms no object of their longing, and consequently it forms no subject for their reception. The kingdom of God, indeed, appears in the whole of this description as a purely internal spiritual kingdom; it seeks not that which is dazzling, that which is pleasing to the human eye, but, on the contrary, it inclines towards things despised and unworthy. To the Jews, whose senses were intoxicated with splendid representations of the Messiah's kingdom, this preamble of the instructive discourse of the Messiah formed a mighty contrast with the entire circle of their preconceived notions; but to all those towards whom the law had fulfilled its duty, who were of a bruised and contrite heart, to all such a discourse like this was a healing balm. But, that the external part of human nature is not to be overlooked in consequence of the rendering prominent of the internal one, is evident from ver. 5.

Ver. 4. The second sentence merely adds an accessory feature to the fundamental frame of mind, or disposition, herein lauded. The expression, *πενθῶντες*, "those that mourn," combines well with the sentiment of the *πτωχία*, "poverty and humility," the knowledge of the sufferings which must be viewed as having their root in our guilt. (St Luke gives *κλαίοντες*, "those who weep," with the same reference, only he has placed the *πενθῶντες*, "those who hunger," before the *κλαίοντες*). Hence *παρακαλεῖσθαι*, "to be comforted," here includes the idea of forgiveness, which is conceived only in its beneficial results (in Luke *γεῖν*, "to laugh, to be merry," in a noble and sacred sense). The Messiah, the originator of the comfort, is called, therefore, *παρακλήτος* = *מְנַחֵם*, "the comforter," John xiv. 16.

Ver. 5, 6. It appears as though there existed the necessity for a direct combination of ver. 6 with the two first passages, or propositions, in the manner in which we find it in St Luke, inasmuch as the physical longing, i.e. desire after the preservation of the bodily organism, is here also used to express the spiritual longing. (Concerning this same comparison see Ps. xlii. 1;

Isaiah lxv. 13; Amos. viii. 11.) This idea differs from ver. 3 and 4 only as to the object of this longing; as such an object *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," here presents itself, which must here no longer be viewed as the external, but as the internal, as the *δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ*, "righteousness of God," of the New Testament (see Rom. iii. 21). The interposition of ver. 5, however, may be explained from the circumstance, that the longing of the children of the kingdom of God is to be depicted in its continual state of progression. The *πραότης*, "meekness, mildness, or forbearance," namely, must be regarded as the immediate result of the fruit of the *πενθείν*, "mourning." The knowledge of our own guilt (perfect contrition) renders us meek or forbearing in judging the guilt of others; he who has actually experienced forgiveness must harbour in his own heart the forgiving principle. Through this principle the kingdom of God is not only in him, but he will be likewise in the kingdom of God. The future tense has here its full signification, because *κληρονομεῖν τὴν γῆν*, "to inherit the earth," is not identical with the expression, *ἡ βασιλεία ἔστιν αὐτῶν*, "the kingdom is their's" (ver. 3, 10). It corresponds with the Hebrew formula, *יָרַשׁ אֶרֶץ*, "to inherit the land," Deuter. xix. 14; Ps. xxv. 13; xxxvii. 9, and owes its origin to the Old Testament view of the land of Canaan, as the terrestrial object of the Divine promises. Hence, the possession of this land forms a symbol of all and each of the Divine blessings. The possession of the land of Canaan is here to be taken in the ideal or symbolical sense, as in Heb. iv., in connection with the *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, "kingdom of heaven," which must be viewed as having a spiritual existence in the *πτωχοῦς*, "humble;" the expression, therefore, implies the full realisation of the kingdom of God, which presents itself even in an *external* form. Viewed thus, the land of Palestine appears as the symbol of the earth in general, so that the latter must be regarded as renewed and consecrated to God. The participation in this realised kingdom of God our Redeemer connects with *πραότης*, "meekness," inasmuch as the kingdom of God as a communion of brotherly love and unity forms a contrast to the dis-union dominating in the *κόσμος*, "world," and because things of such a nature can find a place only in its perfected harmony.

Ver. 7. In the verses which follow, the consummation of the internal life resulting from the moral longing comes forth in more distinct and exact features. First, with regard to the expression

ἐλεήμονες, "the merciful," this must be distinguished from πραῖς, "the meek" [ver. 5], in such a manner, that whereas the latter bear in love the *guilt* of a brother, the former lovingly turn their attention to his *necessities*. But in so far as a connection exists between necessity and guilt, both expressions mutually illustrate one another, or may be said to become synonymous. Hence, this proposition, therefore, very properly connects itself with the hunger and thirst after righteousness; the sense of our own need awakens in us a sympathy for the sufferings of others. But what appears remarkable is, that to those who practise ἔλεος, "mercy," a *future* ἔλεος, "mercy," is promised; it appears as though, on the contrary, the experience of the Divine compassion alone would first awaken to a sense of mercy towards others. The idea is understood much better, when we reflect that the character of the ἐλεήμων, "merciful, compassionate," is to be viewed always only in a relative sense. Every individual in whose heart compassionate love has been engendered by his own experience of compassion still requires for himself the Divine indulgence and forbearance, inasmuch as the life of love in him is as yet only receiving existence, growing up amidst the imperfections of the old man.¹

Ver. 8. With restrictions of a similar character must be viewed also the two propositions which follow, for absolute internal purity would necessarily be one with the present intuition or contemplation of God, which is here first connected with the καθαρότης, "purity," as a future thing. Καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, "pure in heart" = בָּרִיךְ לִבְּךָ, Ps. xxiv. 4, forms a contrast with moral ῥυπαρία, "filth, filthiness," James i. 21. Καθαρότης, "purity," does not differ specifically from δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness" [ver. 6], the same state of the inner man is to be viewed in both expressions, although in their different relations. But what was given in ver. 6 as the thing longed for, is here given as (relatively) attained, and hence the life of the children of the kingdom is viewed once more in the light of its internal progression. However, every relative purity of heart may have an internal perception of God as its necessary accompaniment—forasmuch as the presence of the Divine Spirit can alone work out purity of mind—still this cannot be compared with the consummate or perfect beholding of the Divine glory; and it is for this reason that it here appears as an event which

¹ Comp. these remarks with the interesting parallel, James ii. 13.

is to take place at a future period. ("ὀπτεῖσθαι Θεόν," to see God" = רָאָה פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, "to see the face of God," Psalm xlii. 2, naturally involves the idea of the highest state of bliss, yet it is by no means to be regarded as a mere empty figure of speech. On the contrary, this expression implies the capability of the human soul (which has become overcast only through sin), essentially to recognise its original source, its highest bliss. This capability presupposes a near relationship with the Deity, for only things of a congenial nature can harmonise with one another. Hence, wherever the Divine life has been created in the inner man, as the result of an ardent longing after Divine things, there is revealed the capability of recognising God's everlasting nature, a recognition which, taken in its whole bearing, imparts to earthly life a heavenly character.¹ On this subject comp. Matth. xi. 27, and John xvii. 3.)

Ver. 9. The idea of the εἰρήνη, "peace," is brought forward as the last degree of moral perfection. This is represented as realised by means of the members of the βασιλεία, "kingdom." The εἰρηνοποιός, "peace-maker," differs very much from the εἰρηνεύων, "the man of peace, or peaceable person;" the latter *preserves* the peace already existing, the former *creates* the peace which is wanting. Hence the relative virtue καθάρτης, "purity," is assumed as existing in the εἰρηνοποιός, "peace-maker," inasmuch as the element of strife (sin) must be found wanting in his heart, and that of peace be efficacious therein, if his activity is to be crowned with any success. That the εἰρηνοποιός is to be viewed as inseparable from the adoption by God, must be made plain from the circumstance that υἱὸς Θεοῦ, "Son of God," involves the highest prerogative that can be promised to man. For, in υἱός, "son," the idea is implied of a spiritual relation, according to which the real son is the image of the father. The God of peace [2 Cor. xiii. 11] begets in his turn children of peace, whose ministry is peace. This perfected character of God's children is represented, however, as in the future, and as that which at best, at the present time, exists in the germ only (for καλεῖσθαι, "to be called or named," = ἵνα, "to be," in its essential sense, comp. on Luke i. 35).

¹ When we read in St John i. 18, "No man has ever seen God," which contains the idea that no one *can behold God*, inasmuch as he is invisible to created beings (1 Tim. vi. 16); this refers to the first cause of the Divine nature, the Father, for God can be seen in the Son only. (compare this with the comment on John i. 18.)

Thus also in Matthew v. 45, wherein it is implied that the whole gradation of moral perfection is to be viewed in its relative terrestrial sense. Its future state of perfection will be identical with the sonship of God. Hence, men in their sinful nature, do *not* appear as the children of God; they require as yet a higher principle of life (which must be bestowed on them by the υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ κατ' ἐξοχήν, "Son of God *par excellence*") which must be obtained through the anxious desire after things Divine (the faith of repentance), and which gradually develops itself in order to lead thereunto.

Ver. 10. After fully describing the internal condition of the true children of God, our Lord proceeds to give a picture of their relative position as to the world of ἀδικία, "iniquity, unrighteousness." In doing this, he again forms the connection with ver. 3, inasmuch as he here repeats, in ver. 10, the passage: *ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐν βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν*, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." The δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness," in the children of the kingdom of heaven, is here viewed as perfected, inasmuch as they are placed in absolute contradistinction to the world.

Ver. 11, 12. In these two verses is merely developed the idea contained in ver. 10. Under the dominion of the ἀδικία, "unrighteousness," the δικαιοσύνη, "righteousness," must necessarily suffer. The several forms of persecutions by word and deed are then given in a more distinct manner.¹ (*ὀνειδίζειν* signifies to persecute with words, and *διώκειν* with deeds. Luke vi. 22 has added the expression *αφορίζειν*, which means to excommunicate, or to exclude from spiritual and political communion. Above all this stands calumny [*πονηρὸν ῥῆμα εἰπεῖν ψευδόμενος*, "to speak falsely, the evil word"], to which belongs, for example, the accusation of murder and the fostering of lusts, which was laid to the charge of the earliest Christians. St Luke has reiterated this idea in a somewhat modified form; *τὸ ὄνομα ὡς πονηρὸν ἐκβάλλειν*, "to cast out the name as evil," = *ἀφορίζειν*, "to excommunicate or thrust out," which is only a stronger expression.) As a peculiar feature of the persecution which is endured purely for the sake of truth, our Lord adds: *ἐνεκ ἐμοῦ*, "because of me." By means of this weighty word, the

¹ According to St John xvi. 4, our Redeemer did not speak at first with his disciples of the persecutions that awaited them; hence it is not improbable, that the mention of them forms a portion of the elements adopted from subsequent discourses. Yet, we do meet with the mention of them already in Luke vi. 22.

doctrine of Christian suffering (which is closely related to self-denial, which is to take place, indeed, only *ἕνεκεν τοῦ κυρίου*, "for the sake of the Lord," comp. on Matth. x. 39) now first receives its true meaning. For as Jesus Christ is himself the *ἀλήθεια*, "truth," and *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," represented, moreover, in a living impersonation, hence pure suffering because of that good thing, the belief in him, is required of all the members of the kingdom of God. Wherever selfishness reigns such blessed suffering cannot take place. But wherever this suffering takes place because of faith, and wherever it is suffered in faith, there it has the power of perfecting the internal life, and of awakening the longing after eternity. This latter view appears very clear from ver. 12, inasmuch as men are called upon to rejoice, thus presenting a contrast to the sufferings. (*Ἀγαλλιάω* = *הִנֵּה*, "to exult, leap for joy," is a much stronger expression than *χαίρειν*, "to rejoice." Luke vi. 23 has chosen instead *σκιρτᾶν*, "to leap for joy, to exult.") This joy, in relation to one's self, does not exclude the pain as regards, or as produced by, the persecutors; in the former view, persecution is only a testimony to the believer that he belongs to God. Luke vi. 26 holds up the reverse, in the *Wo* predicated therein; the exciting or awakening to human praises presupposes a worldly nature; hence it is to be feared that wherever it makes its appearance, the person so praised belongs as certainly to the community of the impious, and false teachers (*ψευδοπροφῆται*, "false prophets"), as the persecuted becomes thereby included among the number of the persecuted prophets. (The reference to the *προφῆται*, "prophets," appears, moreover, to bring more prominently forward that view of the discourse which points it out as having been addressed more especially to the *μαθηται*, "disciples" [ver. 1], properly so called.) Another thing remarkable in ver. 12 is the mention made of the *μισθός*, "reward," which seems to refer back to the legal point of view. The motive of action in the kingdom of God is *per se* not the *μισθός*, "reward." The expression has been chosen, no doubt, with immediate regard to the peculiar position of the disciples, as may be seen, indeed, in the earlier discourses of Christ, which often as yet display a legal colouring; but then there is likewise a reward for pure love, which must be conceived of as being pure in proportion as this love shows itself pure, namely, the recognition of this love and the placing it in its natural element; this is the reward of love.

Ver. 13. It has been already observed, in the course of the general survey of the connection existing in the sermon on the mount, according to St Matthew, that the new stricter law promulgated throughout the chapter, is modified by the beatitudes, through the assumption of the power of the Holy Ghost received in true repentance, which teaches to keep such a new commandment. But what relation there exists between the reference to the ἅλας τῆς γῆς, "salt of the earth," and the passage immediately preceding it, as well as the whole taken together, it is difficult to say, in consequence of the obscurity therein existing. The most natural connection, no doubt, is this. The idea of persecution presupposes in the persecuted disciples a power of a higher life, whereby sin feels itself aroused; but this very power, which creates enmity in the minds of the adversaries of that which is good, is the condition on which alone active faith can take root in minds susceptible thereof. Hence it must be fostered and preserved, notwithstanding every persecution. Jesus, *in the first place*, calls the disciples ἅλας τῆς γῆς, "salt of the earth." (Here γῆ stands = κόσμος, "the world," ver. 14, and implies mankind in general with the necessary notion of the φθαρτόν, "corruptible," which must be preserved by means of ἅλας, "salt.") In the general symbolism of nature, which has ever inserted itself into researches of a deeper character, salt always had an important meaning; Pythagoras regarded it as the image of the δίκαιον, "that which is right, just." Its use in the offerings had likewise a deep meaning (Lev. ii. 13, respecting which comp. also on Mark ix. 50). Herein lies the point of comparison between the disciples and the salt; it is contained in that power which prevents corruption, and which imparts life.¹ The hint that salt, without this power, is perfectly useless, is to incite the disciples to a careful preservation of the sacred power that was intrusted to them. (For μωρανθῇ, "shall lose savour," some *Codices* have the less applicable term μαρανθῇ, "shall wither," from μαραίνεισθαι, "to wither, to fade away." Μωρός, when speaking of salt, corresponds with the מַלְחָה of Job vi. 6, *insipidus, futurus*, "insipid, tasteless." Mark ix. 50 has used in the place of it ἀναλός, "insipid, without saltiness." Luke xiv. 35 reminds us of another of its uses, viz. the application of salt for the purpose of manuring [κοπρία, manure]; but even for that end saltless salt

¹ De Wette compares this passage with 2 Kings ii. 20, according to which passage Elisha heals the unwholesome water by means of salt.

is useless, and hence there remains only the ἔξω βάλλειν, "casting forth;" the image of the spiritual ἀπώλεια, "destruction," of those falling away [backsliders]. As regards the parallel passages Mark ix. 50, Luke xiv. 34, 35, and with what follows Mark iv. 21, Luke viii. 16, compare them in their connection.)

Ver. 14, 15. The *second* comparison has essentially the same meaning. According to it, the world appears as σκοτος, "dark" (John i. 5), which is to be enlightened only by the children of the kingdom. The disciples form the rays of him who is the φῶς, "light," itself (John i. 4; Phil. ii. 15). But we are not given to understand, in what here follows, that the enlightening power can be lost, as was the case with the salt; the exhortation which follows is only to let the light shine. This exhortation, nevertheless, involves, in an indirect manner, the same warning which was given above, for whoever covers his light, for him it becomes extinguished. In order to render plain the exhortation already uttered, our Redeemer makes use of two more similes or parables. Firstly, the one of a city set on a hill, which thus strikes the eye of every individual. Thus also every Divine gift possesses an exalted nature in itself, and wherever it reveals itself, there it becomes visible, unless, indeed (for fear of persecution), it should be covered or hidden. Then follows the second parable of a λυχνος, "lamp," the purpose or destination of which is to light those who are in the house; this object, therefore, *must* not be impeded. (The same figure is made use of in the parallel passages, only Luke viii. 16 has, instead of μύδιος, "bushel," first σκεῦος, "vessel," and then κλινη, "couch." But in Luke xi. 33 is found κρυπτή, "a secret place.")

Ver. 16. An application then is made of these parables. From which, it appears very clear that φῶς, "light," refers not only to doctrine and knowledge, but that it must be regarded as the internal principle of life in general, as the source of the καλὰ ἔργα, "good works." (Considered not only in contrast to the πονηρά, "evil, malevolent works," but likewise to νεκρά, "dead," those which have not sprung from the life of faith.) In order to afford a sign, whereby to recognise the genuineness of the καλὰ ἔργα, "good works," it is clearly implied that they must not appeal to the praise of men, but to that of God; it must be traceable in them that man is only the *instrument* of the Divine power which flows from him towards others.

Ver. 17. The less it could have been mistaken by any single

individual that something new was made valid in the person of Christ, and the more expressly our Lord confessed it, and placed himself, in what follows, as the new law-giver in opposition to the old; the more important was it to prevent any misunderstanding, as though the appearance of that which was new in him had been detached or separated from its historical foundation or basis. Hence Christ here declares the internal connection existing between the Old and the New Testament in a manner which, in this view, must have completely excluded every error, if no influence on the exposition had been permitted to take place, from preconceived opinions on the subject. For, in the first place, the Old Testament is described as being in itself of undeniable authority; and in the second, the New Testament is regarded as the perfect development of the Old; and finally, the law, in this consummation, is declared in its validity as Divine and everlasting.

The expression *μὴ νομίσητι*, "think not," points to an idea, which it is very likely existed on the part of the disciples, that the old covenant would be abrogated by the promulgation of the new. The Redeemer expressly excludes such a ministration from, or as not belonging to, his calling (*οὐκ ἔλθων*, "I am not come.") (*Νόμος καὶ προφῆται* = תּוֹרָה וּנְבִיאִים, "the law and the prophets," is a general designation for the writings of the Old Testament collectively, made yet more complete, however, in Luke xxiv. 44.¹) But the Scriptures themselves must not be viewed in their dead external sense, but in that internal life-element from which they have proceeded, and which is revealed in them. Important above all is here the contrast of *καταλῦσαι*, "to destroy," and *πληρῶσαι*, "to fulfil." *Καταλύω*, when used as speaking of laws, may be rendered "to abrogate, to break" (John x. 35). But *πληρῶσαι* seems to form no contrast with it; *κυροῦν*, "to confirm, to sanction," should be here understood. It is best to sup-

¹ The Hebrew Scriptures are divided into three great divisions, viz. תּוֹרָה וּנְבִיאִים, Torah, Nebieim, and Ketoobim, i.e. the Law, the Prophets, and the Scriptures (Hagiographia); the latter division is alluded to by our Saviour under the designation "the Psalms," in the passage of St Luke above referred to, a part (the most important one, as containing the most frequent and direct references to the Messiah) being put for the whole. The כְּתוּבִים, "Hagiographia," consist of the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two books of Chronicles.—T.

pose the figure derived from a building, the foundations of which may be remodelled, and which may be finished, nevertheless, on those foundations. According thereto, the Old Testament is the foundation on which the superstructure of the new covenant is to be raised, in order to complete it. According to this figure, the Old Testament contains the sketch (μορφώσεις, "form," Rom. ii. 20¹), and the New Testament the carrying out thereof; both stand in the same organic connection which exists between the germ and the flower. The fulfilment, therefore, must be considered as a general one. Not only does Christ fulfil the prophecies and types of the Old Testament, but he fulfils completely likewise the moral law in himself and in those who are his.

Ver. 18. Our Redeemer proves strongly and emphatically, from the nature of the law itself, the impossibility of the *καταλύνειν*, "destroying." (The expression Ἀμήν = אָמֵן, "verily," is always employed by our Lord, in order to direct attention to some leading idea, and to give it emphasis.) The Old Testament, as the word of God, is everlasting and imperishable (1 Peter i. 25); whence it is that it is put in contrast with that which is created. (Οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ, "heaven and earth," Genes. i. 1, stands for, of the universe, things created in general.) Whilst this passes away in its totality, the former remains even in its (apparently) unessential parts. (Ἰῶτα, "yodh," the smallest letter [י] in the Hebrew alphabet. *Κεραία*, *apex*, "tittle, point of a letter," whereby individual letters are distinguished from one another, as for example י and ך, or כ and ך.²) Besides, as the first ἕως αἰ, "until," fixes a term to the universe, so does the second to the law. (In the passage ἕως αἰ πάντα γίνηται, "until all things be accomplished, or shall have come to pass," *scil.* τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γεγραμμένα, "which are written in the law," the term γένεσθαι, "to have come to pass," = πληροῦσθαι, "to be fulfilled, comp. Luke xxi. 32.)

¹ In like manner does the Apostle Paul express himself respecting the relation existing between the Old Testament and the New, as may be seen especially from his Epistle to the Galatians (in Gal. ii. 18 may be found, indeed, the contrast of *καταλύνειν*, "to destroy," and *οικοδομεῖν*, "to build [a house], to construct"). Passages, such as Ephes. ii. 15, contain only in appearance a different view of the law.

² In a similar manner do the Rabbis say: si quis Daleth in Deut. vi. 4, mutaret, concuteret totum mundum, "If any one were to change the letter Daleth in Deut. vi. 4, he would shake the foundations of the world." For, דָּ, "one," would be changed into דַּ, "another," the true God into an idol. Comp. *Welstein* on this passage.

This idea is referred, without much difficulty, to the typical character of the Old Testament. But according to the universal application in which we find it here used, it must be likewise applied or referred to the law in all its various features and peculiarities. But then it is the ethical or moral part of it which must be regarded, it would appear, as the thing everlasting, to which no fixed period or term can be pointed out. It is true, that the law will be preserved in the world of perfection, only in so far as it will have become the very internal life of all beings; there will be no longer need for any determinate rule, inasmuch as every individual will have become a law to himself. Hence as there is no law for God, so in like manner is there no law for the perfected world; for as God is himself the law, so also is it in itself.

Ver. 19. The words which follow perhaps refer to some particular incidents, inasmuch as a few disciples, with wrong notions of freedom, may have attacked the structure of the old theocracy.¹ This passage by no means refers to the division of the laws into great and little commandments, made by the Jewish doctors, since such an underrating of the moral part (as the small commandments) and overrating of the ceremonials (as the great commandments), as a Pharisaical heresy, necessarily excluded from the entering into the kingdom of God. But the expressions: *ἐλάχιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ*, "to be the least in the kingdom," and *οὐκ εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν*, "not to enter into the kingdom," cannot possibly be synonymous. On the contrary, our Lord

¹ *Tholuck* (p. 148 sqq.) disputes this, and wishes *λύειν*, "break," and *ποιεῖν*, "to do," to be understood in a spiritual sense, so that by apparently fulfilling the law we may transgress it. But I cannot conceive how this can be combined with the view he takes of the *ἐλάχιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ*, "to be least in the kingdom." Whosoever does not fulfil a commandment truly, hence, whoever is without love, is guilty of the whole law; he cannot, therefore, enter at all into the kingdom of God. Hence, there are only two ways in which this difficult passage can be explained; either we assume that *ἐλάχιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ*, "to be the least in the kingdom," is synonymous with *οὐκ εἰσερχεσθαι*, "not to enter in," in which case *Tholuck's* mode of viewing it becomes recommendable; or, a line of distinction must be drawn, as it strikes me that the identity of both phrases is highly improbable, and in that case there will only remain the way pursued or pointed out by me. Our not possessing any certain knowledge that men had fallen, even at that early period, into the Antinomian error, can be no argument against it, because it is too much in the nature of things to imagine a right to dispense with the fulfilling of the minor commandments, as soon as the subordinate position of the law of the Old Testament was understood.

speaks here in general from a point of view based on Christian principle,¹ yet from which man acts and teaches to act without the proper awe for the word of God, abrogating in the mean time many (seemingly) unessential ordinances of the law. With such a *false freedom*, a man may be, it is true, as regards the most internal principle of life (faith), in the kingdom of God, but he does not belong to it with all his powers; and hence he is unfit for an instructor. The expressions *μέγας*, "great," and *ελάχιστος*, "least," denote therefore various degrees in the development of the Christian principle of life. The Scriptures frequently speak of such various degrees or gradations, especially under the name of children, youths, and men (1 John ii. 13, 14; 1 Peter ii. 2; Ephes. iv. 13; Col. ii. 19). Hence the whole passage is a warning to the disciples not to endanger the cause of the kingdom of God and their own development therein by inconsiderate haste.

Ver. 20. The arbitrary abandonment of the Old Testament is contrasted by Jesus, in what follows, with the equally arbitrary adoption of it in its external form; this showed itself among the Pharisees, and excluded them entirely from the *βασίλεια*, "kingdom." *Per se*, that which is of the Old Testament, it is true, can never be *un-christian*; it is only *proto-christian*, and includes as a type that which is Christian itself; but it may present itself as of an *un-christian* and *anti-christian* character, if retained or adhered to in its germ-like form, and if an impediment be offered to its free development. Such was the position occupied by the Pharisees; they confined the commandments of the Old Testament to their literal and consequently dead sense, without entering into their spiritual character. They had, indeed, a *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," but it was a purely external one; they *seemed* to keep the law, but this seeming only served them as the means which was to enable them the more securely to offend against it in its most sacred forms. As they had the law written likewise in their heart (Rom. ii. 15), hence they offended the sanctuary of God within them, and with their *δικαιοσύνη* (which never produced in them a poverty in spirit) they themselves closed the kingdom of heaven against themselves. What the relation, then, ought to be between the *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," of the inheritors of the kingdom of God and that of the Pharisees, here forms the fundamental idea of the sublime parallel of

¹ The Antinomian point of view is that which the author here intends to reprove.—T.

the laws of the Old and New Testament to which the discourse now leads; Christ, however, offers nothing new,¹ he merely grasps the Old Testament in its most deeply seated roots of vitality; the Pharisees, on the contrary, substitute the form for the essence or thing itself, and make valid the former instead of the latter.

Ver. 21. First of all the Mosaic law: οὐ φονεύσεις, "thou shalt not kill," is treated of. It is evident that in the words ἐξέειπεν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, "it was said by them of old," we are not to understand the contemporaries of Moses as here referred to, as though the meaning were, "the commandment was given to the ancients."² For the same commandment was given likewise to the contemporaries of Jesus, and to those of all times. Besides, after this manner of interpretation, the inconsistent meaning would be evolved that Jesus would oppose the Mosaic law, which he described just now (ver. 18) as the everlasting Divine truth (ἰγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, "but I say unto you," ver. 22) in his own person, and by means of his doctrine. For the same reasons, indeed, is inadmissible the completion by χρόνοις, "times," of ἀρχαίοις, "to the ancients;" our Redeemer does not argue against something superannuated, but against the active errors of the time present. Hence, the passage, ἐξέειπεν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, must be explained from the construction of the passive with the dative (concerning this construction comp. *Winer's Gramm.* p. 178 of the 3d edition, and in Hebrew the *Lehrg.* of *Gesenius*, p. 821), so that the sense is, "the ἀρχαῖοι have said." (Ἀρχαῖοι=עֲלֵמֵי, "elders," or ראשונים, "those from the beginning," denotes, like πρεσβύτεροι, "the elders," the Rabbinico-Pharisaical representatives of the theocracy of the Old Testament.³)

¹ Comp. 1 John ii. 7, 8, where that which is *new* in the Gospel is likewise called the *old*, which was from the beginning.

² *Tholuck* has defended this mode of viewing, because with ἐξέειπεν, "it was said," the dative ought to denote or mark the person, and likewise because ἀρχαῖοι, "they of old time," is not elsewhere used for the purpose of denoting the originators of the Pharisaic tradition. But the manner in which *Tholuck* wishes to deduce the reference to tradition from ἐξέειπεν, "it was said," and ἡκούσατε, "ye have heard," is so forced, that I gladly decide in favour of the other exposition, according to which the dative is taken ablatively, and because we may attain, according to this exposition, more easily that reference to tradition which is imperatively demanded of the whole connection. If, indeed, ἀρχαῖοι does not occur elsewhere in reference to the originators of tradition, still it may be taken in this sense without any hesitation, and that the dative is used ablatively even with εἰρηναί is admitted by *Tholuck* himself (p. 158).

³ This long critical dissertation on the interpretation of the word

In which case the whole will very properly appear thus. Our Lord contrasts the external mode of viewing the commandments adopted by the Pharisees, with the internal or spiritual view, and makes it plain that it is only the latter which introduces the mind to the true and full sense of the law. Hence the entire polemics exercised against the Pharisees is an apology for Moses, whose law was given in one form only, which answered the wants of the then position of the people, but which at the same time did not impede the highest and purest development of the spiritual life, but rather promoted it. It was only the Pharisaical Rabbis who checked the development, inasmuch as they clung from principle to the undeveloped form. The commandment, οὐ φονεύσεις, "thou shalt not kill" (Exod. xx. 13), they construed as referring only to common murder, and referred crimes of this kind to the inferior tribunals or courts of judicature. Every cutting short the life of a neighbour through wrath, or in whatever other way it might occur, they did not consider as belonging to this commandment. Hence, the Mosaic commandment is here made dependent upon the dogmatic interpretation of the Pharisees. (From ver. 22 may be seen that the κρίσις, "judgment" = דין, is different from the synedrium, "Sanhedrim." For, whilst this denotes the high-court in matters connected with law and justice, of Jerusalem itself [comp. the remarks on Matth. xxvi. 27], κρίσις, on the contrary, refers to the inferior tribunals of the provincial towns, which were instituted according to Deut. xvi. 18, and which consisted of seven persons.)

Ver. 22. As a contrast to this Pharisaical interpretation, according to which murder was considered only in the external act, and counted among crimes of an inferior order, our Redeemer develops the rich and deep meaning of the commandment, οὐ φονεύσεις, which forbids not only the external deed, but likewise the internal disposition of hatred. Hence, our Lord grasps

ἀρχαῖοι, "elders, they of old time," will appear to the mere English reader as altogether unnecessary, seeing that the passage ἐπείθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις is rendered in the English translation, "It was said by them of old time." The remarks refer to Luther's translation, which is used by all the Protestants throughout Germany, and in which the passage is rendered: "Den Alten ist gesagt" (we have placed designedly the auxiliary before the active verb, in order to make the whole read smoother; of course the words are those of Luther), which signifies literally: "It was said to those of old."—T.

the spiritual root of the action, and thus attacks sin in its very source, which was spared by the hypocritical Pharisees. Hatred is spiritual murder (1 John iii. 15). Our Saviour, then, it is clear, wishes to forbid hatred altogether, and the reading *sinē*, "without a cause" (= *אין שום דבר*), is to be considered as nothing but a correction (*Fritsche*, in his remarks on this passage, justly discards it from the text), which originated in the idea that one may have good grounds for *ἔργη*, "anger, wrath." This wrath may indeed be directed against the *sin*, but not against our *brother*; against the person (in whom we should always honour the being created by God) there is no pure or sinless wrath. The one fundamental idea, then, that the member of the kingdom of heaven admits no hatred into his heart, is expressed in a three-fold gradation. As we can obtain no safe data for distinguishing the characteristics on a historical or grammatical ground, hence this can or must be done by way of reasoning. *ὀργιζέσθαι*, "to be angry," in the first place signifies what is most common, the ebullition of wrath within us, the admission into our minds, i.e. hearts, of the murderous spirit. In the *εἰπὼν ῥακά*, "to say Raca," is already contained the notion of uttering externally against our brother our internal emotions, but Jesus designedly does not go beyond the spiritual act, the word, in order to heighten the contrast existing between his doctrine and Pharisaism, which lays stress only upon the external act. But the word of the person in wrath may attack human dignity itself; the latter is expressed by *εἰπὼν μωρόν*, "to say fool." (*Paxá* is derived, according to *Tholuck's* researches, from *רָקַק*, "to be thin;" of this is formed *רִיקָא*, *רִיקָא*, which was used by the inhabitants of Palestine as a slighting abusive term. *Μωρός* = *נָבִיל*, "dull, stupid," in a mere question of words, can be scarce said to differ from *ῥακά*; the idea, however, is clear. This expression is used to imply a higher degree of *ἔργη*, the limits of which, of course, cannot be pointed out.) Another remarkable feature in this passage is, the parallel gradation of punishment, *κρίσις*, "tribunal," *συνάγωγον*, *סִנְהֶדְרִין*, "Sanhedrim" (the supreme council of the Jewish nation, which had the cognisance of all important causes, both civil and ecclesiastical), *γέεννα πυρός*, "Gehenna of fire." For, it is to be supposed that the *external* *κρίσις* of the Pharisees (ver. 21) would be met by Christ with a tribunal altogether spiritual; but here, however, the human and Divine justice appears min-

gled. *Γέννα* does not imply here, nevertheless, the place of punishment in the world to come, but it refers only to the highest earthly punishment, to the death by fire (see *Tholuck* as above cited, p. 183). Yet, this view is not quite free from doubts, for *γέννα*, in the first place, never occurs in this sense, and in the second *χρίαις* and *συρίδιον*, as two courts of justice, ought necessarily to be followed by a third court of justice, and not by a punishment which could be inflicted by the sanhedrim itself. The earthly circumstances, however, here alluded to must be viewed in every respect as figurative of the Divine punishment in its various degrees. The jurisdiction of the laws of Jesus is over the internal world of the Spirit, and to it belong, accordingly, the degrees of punishment to be awarded to their transgressors.¹ *ὀργίζεσθαι*, "to be angry," indeed, *cannot form a subject for the ministry of a human court of justice, inasmuch as the fact can never be proved*. Hence, the term Gehenna signifies Divine punishment in its highest form and acceptance. *Γέννα* = גֵּי הַחַיִּים, "valley of Hinnom," signifies, in its most usual acceptance, the valley skirting Jerusalem on the south, running westward from the valley of Jehoshaphat under Mount Zion, where the ancient Israelites established the idolatrous worship of Moloch, to whom they burned infants in sacrifice, and whence it is called the valley of Moloch, 2 Kings xxiii. 10. The prophets use הִקְיָה (from הִקָּה, expuere, "to vomit, to spit at") for it (comp. Jerem. vii. 31; xix. 6.) This sink of bodily uncleanness became the symbol of the spiritual sewer wherein is collected whatever is become alienated from God. With regard to the relation of *γέννα* to

¹ That this precept of our Lord, as well as all those which follow, must not be taken in a literal sense, may be seen from the passages of St Matth. xxiii. 17, 19; St Luke xxiv. 25, wherein Jesus himself calls men *μωροί*, "fools," a term which he applies in the latter passage even to his disciples.¹ This whole interpretation of the law of the Old Testament necessarily requires a separation of the internal and external church; in the latter the words of Jesus cannot be applied in a literal sense, they are only calculated for the former.

¹ The author here appears to have quoted from memory. Jesus, in the text quoted, St Luke xxiv. 25, does not call his disciples *μωροί*, although the word made use of is improperly translated by Luther "Thoren," and by the English translators "fools," in which error they seem to have followed the Vulgate, which has *stulti*. Such an application of the word, under the existing circumstances, would have been altogether contrary to the character and spirit of Christ. He only calls them *ἀνόητοι*, "inconsiderate, thoughtless." It is passing strange that the foregoing error should have occurred with an author of such unusual acuteness and accuracy!—T.

ᾠδης, *orcus*, hades, hell, i.e. abode or world of the dead, see on Luke xvi. 23.

Ver. 23, 24. From the negative side, that is to say, from the non-admission of hatred and the murderous spirit into the human heart, our Lord passes over to the positive, and teaches that the believer must extinguish even in the heart of his brother the fire of wrath (as it becomes every *εἰρηνοποιός*, "peacemaker," ver. 9). Herein the purity of love reveals itself in its fairest splendour. For, this precept refers not only to all such cases, wherein the wrath of our brother becomes excited in consequence of an offence given on our part, but the passage ἔχουσιν τι κατὰ σου, "to have aught against thee," is designedly given in an entirely general sense. Thus, if any person hates without a cause, he is bound to extinguish the flame burning in his heart, and hence he must be not only placable himself, but he must see that his brother exercise no hatred. Unusually profound is the idea of connecting the expression of this pure love with the moment of sacrifice. In this act man approaches to everlasting love, in order to claim for himself its compassion and mercy; and this is the fittest moment for him to bestow it on others. But, were we to regard these words of our Redeemer as implying an acknowledgment or admission of sacrifices into the New Testament, it would be founded on error; Christ here evidently refers merely to the existing Jewish form of worship, which he left undisturbed. (Concerning the pretended difference existing between *καταλλάσσω*, "to change towards," i.e. one person towards another, to reconcile to any one," and *διαλλάσσω*, implying a "mutual change," comp. *Tholuck* as above cited, p. 192 sqq.)

Ver. 25, 26. The verses which follow were originally given, no doubt, in a totally different connection, as may be seen in St Luke xii. 58, 59 (which may be compared with the context). But St Matthew has succeeded in a peculiarly felicitous manner in interweaving this idea with the discourse of our Redeemer. The position of a debtor, namely, who does what is just and right, in order to free himself at the right time from his creditor, that he might not be cast into prison by the latter, is skilfully used by the Evangelist as a further illustration of what has been previously said. The position of man with regard to his angry brother whom he has offended, he regards as a position of debt; hence the *ἀντίδικος*, "opponent, accuser," is any one who can

make any legal claims, as for example the plaintiff in a suit at law.¹ Our Redeemer advises to satisfy such an one in humble and child-like submission, in order that hatred may not continue its work of perdition. In order to impress the exhortation, the word *ταχύ*, "quickly," is added, and allusion is made to the fugacity of life (*ὁδός* = *דרך*, "way, journey"); whatever has not been solved on earth in harmony, continues the work of perdition in the world to come.—*Ἰσθὶ εὐνοῶν*, "be mild, obliging, and good, i.e. offer thou the hand." Particularly difficult herein is the idea of the continued progress of hatred, which is represented under the figure of being accused and incarcerated. (*Κρίτης*, the "judge," is God, and the *ὑπηρέται*, "ministers," his angels, but *φυλακή*, "prison, station, hold," is the *sheol*, "hell," which must not be confounded with Gehenna (comp. on Luke xvi. 24). This expression has in the New Testament too precise a meaning to be applied in the sense of *Tholuck* to a mere impeded and uncomfortable state of existence. As the kingdom of love forms a unity which, owing to its innate power, reaches beyond this life, so does in like manner the accusing principle form a mighty power (Revel. xiii. 10), which insists on its right, until matters be arranged with it. The debt must be obliterated (according to the *jus talionis*, "the law of recompense or retaliation") either in this world or in the one to come. Love, as taught in the New Testament, admits of an harmonious settlement of every species of discord by means of humility, a willing acceptance of the debt, in order to give no room to the accusing spirit. Besides, that *ἔξέρχεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ἀποδώς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην*, "not to come forth till you have paid the last farthing" (= quadrans, "the fourth part of anything"), has nothing to do with everlasting damnation, but only implies a state of transition, is evident, partly from the expression *φυλακή*, "prison," which never signifies the place of everlasting punishment, and partly from *ἕως ἂν*, "until," which points to a term or period (compare the context with Matth. xviii. 34). Even the general idea compels to adopt this view, inasmuch as unbelievers are not here spoken of (as ver. 22), but only believers, who, it is true, were saved on account of their faith (1 Cor. iii. 15), but who, were they to remain behind in the

¹ But according to the maxim, "Owe no man anything, but to love one another" (Rom. xiii. 8), every individual will be as regards love the debtor of his neighbour.

grace of sanctification, would be excluded from the kingdom of God on earth.¹

Ver. 27, 28. The *second* command of the Old Testament, which Jesus teaches to consider more deeply than the Pharisees were accustomed to regard it, is the *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, "thou shalt not commit adultery." What with the latter had reference to the external deed only, Christ again extends to the spiritual deed, to the lust (*ἐπιθυμία*), and to the suffering it within the human heart. For lust, *per se*, must be considered as connected with the sinfulness of human nature in general, it must not be considered as a *peccatum actuale*, "actual sin," if combated with pure earnestness; but our suffering it, hence our entering into it with our will (which, indeed, is what the *βλέπειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι*, "the looking on to lust after," points at) is the act itself, if only external circumstances, independent of the will of man, prevent the consummation of the external act.

Ver. 29, 30. With this idea St Matthew connects those words which, as is evident from Matth. xviii. 6 sqq., Mark ix. 43 sqq., were originally spoken on another occasion; but even here the Evangelist has connected several elements of speech into a whole with much deep truth.² For, the remark, that the commandment, *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, "thou shalt not commit adultery," teaches internal as well as external chastity, is very properly connected with the exhortation to preserve this chastity by means of an external moral gravity, through the utmost resolution of self-denial, which shuns not even the most sensible pain and loss. Eyes and hands must here be regarded as those sensual organs which mediate the internal temptation, and through which sin reveals itself externally from within; to divest ourselves of these (in themselves useful and important) organs for the purpose of attaining holiness (to abstain from their use, or to limit it), it is which this idea is intended to teach us. (For what concerns these words individually compare the context with Matth. xviii. 6 sqq.)

Ver. 31, 32. The third example brought forward by our Lord is divorce. According to Deut. xxiv. 1, it was permitted to the

¹ To regard the expression, "until the uttermost farthing be paid," in the manner in which *Tholuck* does, as a mere proverb, in order to show thereby the utmost rigour of the law, strikes me as being inadmissible, especially in reference to Matth. xviii. 34, 35.

² Considering the sententious form of the passage, we may, nevertheless, very properly assume, with *Tholuck*, the originality of it in both places.

husband to dismiss his wife, yet was he bound to give her an *ἀποστάσιον* = *קֶסֶף בְּרִיתוֹת*, "a bill of divorce." (For all that belongs to this passage, especially concerning the rabbinical expositions of the Mosaic institutions, see the comment. on Matth. xix. 3 sqq.) According to the express declaration of Jesus (Matth. xix. 8), this arrangement was made only on account of the *σκληροκαρδία*, "hardness of heart, perverseness" of the Jews; even the Old Testament was based on the just view of the connubial state, as of the indissoluble tie of souls. But the Pharisees did not regard this indulgence as such, but they regarded it as forming a feature in the nature of marriage, that the husband could dismiss his wife whenever it pleased him, in order to marry another. This common interpretation is contrasted by our Lord with the spiritual view of matrimony, wherein he describes at the same time the evil results arising from divorce. *In the first place*, the *ἀπολελυμένη*, "the divorced one" (who must still be regarded as bound by the conjugal tie), is thereby led into the temptation to form elsewhere a conjugal connection (he thus causes her to commit a sin, *ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχεύσθαι*, "makes her commit adultery"); and, *in the second place*, he, moreover, exposes another man to the danger of contracting an adulterous connection with the *ἀπολελυμένη*, "the divorced woman." His own sin, resulting from any marriage he might contract with another woman, is here passed over in silence, because that is sufficiently clear and self-evident. An exception is here made in the case of faithlessness (*παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας*, literally, "saving for the cause of fornication," where *πορνεία* implies adultery as well as non-conjugal cohabitation; and *λόγος* here signifies, like *דָּבָר*, all that is expressed by *αἰτία*, "crime, cause," *πράγμα*, "thing, act, deed, affair, matter"), because in this case the *ἀπολύειν*, "to put away, to divorce," as an overt act of separation, had already taken place. (Comp. on Matth. xix. 9.) The idea is in itself so clear and intelligible, that there can be no dispute about it; our Redeemer evidently forbids *all* divorces whatever (those excepted that are founded on faithlessness, because this faithlessness is or implies a divorce), and regards the new connections formed by such as have been divorced as *μοιχεία*, "adultery." But more difficult to solve is the question regarding the opinion of our Lord as to the *application* of this principle by his church;¹ this

¹ Comp. the opinion of the Theological Faculty at *Bonn* concerning

latter may be inferred, as likewise with reference to oaths or vows (ver. 33 sqq.), only from the general view taken of the position of the church. The external church, as a visible institution, cannot possibly be regarded as the palpable idea of the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, "kingdom of God;" on the contrary, she is only the shell within which is contained the communion of the faithful, as is contained the kernel within the nut-shell. Hence, the order and regulations of the external church cannot correspond with, or answer to, the ideal claims of the βασιλεία, "kingdom;" on the contrary, she must regulate her institutions according to the Old Testament, inasmuch as the plurality of her members take their stand upon that basis. Because, God not only permitted divorce in the Old Testament,¹ but even the marriage itself of the divorced one (comp. Michaelis's *Mosaisches Recht*, vol. ii. p. 322, with Deuter. xxiv. 2); hence, the church *can* adopt, in like manner, mitigations of the laws of our Lord (as expressed in the passage before us) for the mass of her members; nay, she is obliged to do so, inasmuch as the establishment of her institutions on the basis of the New Testament would produce only a detrimental effect on the unconverted and unregenerate. Hence, the Roman Catholic church errs by violently bringing into practice the words of Jesus in the visible church,² which had become subject to the

the re-marrying of such as have been divorced, printed in the "Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung" for the year 1836, Numb. 148 and 149, and subsequently edited in a separate form. I quite agree in the main points with this opinion. It is impossible to place the church of modern times, which is most intimately connected with the state, and which is replete with unbelieving members, on a par with the apostolic church. The fathers of the church saw the necessity very soon, indeed, of introducing milder and more indulgent views into their practice. (For the historical interpretation of our passage, comp. *Tholuck* as above cited, p. 262 sqq.) Wicked desertions and attempts to murder formed already, at an early period, full grounds for divorce.

¹ God nowhere permits, throughout the Old Testament, to commit murder, or to practise fornication; but he has expressly permitted to dissolve marriage. Hence, it would be well for all those to consider well what they do, who are anxious to put in practice the commandment of Christ in its *literal sense*, in the church as it now exists. The commandments which follow concerning the cloak, and of the smiting on the cheek, prove clearly enough, that the literal fulfilment of these commands in the external, or visible church, is not in question. Nor, it is evident, does St Matth. xix. 9 sqq. contain a precept which is to be regarded as a general external law; the Redeemer there only speaks for those who are able to adopt it.

² Nay, the Roman Catholic church even heightens in an arbitrary

law. It is, nevertheless, true, that throughout the legislation of the church, the spirit of earnest devotedness should appear, and the endeavour be everywhere expressed to raise her members more and more to a comprehension and adoption of the spirit of the New Testament. Quite differently, however, matters stand with regard to those members of the church who belong also to the *internal* spiritual communion of our Redeemer; inasmuch as the position of these is such as not only to recognise the demands of our Redeemer, but likewise to satisfy them through his power; hence for, and among them, even this commandment exists in full severity, as well as the, not to hate, to give to him who asks, &c. &c. But inasmuch as all these belong, as such, to the Gospel, and not to the law, hence with them there is no compulsion; they stand or fall with their Lord. (Concerning the whole question, comp. the remarks made on St Matth. xix. 3 sqq. and 1 Cor. vii. 15, 16.)

Ver. 33—37. His *fourth* remark is touching oaths. The simple requirement of the Old Testament, in Levit. xix. 12, *οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις*, "thou shalt not forswear thyself," was disfigured by the rabbis to such an extent, through comparisons with Numb. xxx. 3, and Deuter. xxiii. 21, wherein vows (that were mostly accompanied by oaths) are spoken of (*ῥῆμαι*, "oaths" = *נדרים*, "vows"), that they taught, by hypocritically referring it to divine things, to evade its fulfilment towards men. This hypocritical mode of proceeding our Redeemer compares with the proceeding of the children of God. The Mosaic commandment, *Thou shalt not forswear thyself*, our Lord transforms into the tenet, or proposition, *Thou shalt not swear at all*, inasmuch as he sees in the act of swearing, (as above in divorce) only a necessary concession made to sin. But in order to connect the expression or representation of the ideal principle of the kingdom of God with the refutation of the rabbinico-hypocritical interpretation of the Mosaic law, Jesus puts forth four formulas of oaths with which the Jews were well conversant; and proves, *firstly*, that they have all reference to God, and that they have their significance only in this their reference to him; and *then*, again, that all of them find no place in the *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "the kingdom of God." The additions, *ὅτι ὁρκὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.*, "because it is the

manner the commandment of our Lord, by not granting a divorce, *quoad vinculum*, "as regards the bond or tie," even in case of *πορνεία*, "fornication."

throne of God," refer to that Rabbinical interpretation, according to which no oaths were necessarily to be kept except those that have a reference to God. Our Lord, therefore, proves in every formula of oath its reference to God, and shows that it can have a significancy in this reference only. (Compare the context with St Matth. xxiii. 16 sqq.) The acceptance of οὐρανός, "heaven," and γῆ, "earth," as the θρόνος, "throne," and ὑποπόδιον, "foot-stool," of God, Isa. lxvi. 1, of course, is only to be regarded in a figurative sense; yet, this figure is based on the true idea, that heaven and earth stand in a different relation with regard to the Omnipresent. He, who is everywhere, appears everywhere different. Jerusalem (Ἱερουσαλήμ, Hebr. יְרוּשָׁלַם), as the seat of the visible theocracy, is called the city of God (Ps. xlvi. 2), and hence the swearing by this city has, in this its peculiar relation as such, its true significancy. Obscure is the addition made by our Lord to the swearing by the head,¹ just as the Mohammedans swear by the beard. But it may be explained, by viewing as negative whatever is expressed as positive in all the other propositions. That which feeble man is incapable of doing (to turn a hair white or black, that is to transform even the smallest thing), all this Almighty God can; hence, if thou swearest by thyself, thine oath will then only have a meaning, if by so doing thou referrest to him, whose will it is that thou thyself shouldst exist. Hence, every oath, if it is to signify anything, must have reference to God, inasmuch as it is He only, the Everlasting, who is able to warrant the assurance of mortal man. But as this idea is closely connected with the total prohibition of any swearing *whatever*, so it appears clear, that it must not be inferred that, "since all objects sworn by have their relation to God, and that thereby only they have a significancy, men are to swear by God *only*;" on the contrary, "since it is forbidden to swear altogether, and since every oath in its ultimate depth refers to God, the everlasting and true, hence, we must use *no* oath whatever; the simplest declaration or expression of mind suffices, whatever goes beyond it has sprung from the source of evil, and is become necessary only on account of sin." The opinion,

¹ The construction of *ομοσαι*, "to swear, to take an oath," with the accusative (as James v. 12), or with *κατά*, *seq. genit.* (as Heb. vi. 16), is genuine Greek. In the New Testament it is used chiefly in connection with *ἐν*, "in," or *εἰς*, "into, on, upon," according to the analogy of the קִשְׁבֵּעַ, "to swear on, by," in the Hebrew language.

that it is the *abuse* of swearing only which is prohibited, can never be exegetically vindicated.¹ In the passage, James v. 12, another mode of viewing may for a moment seem to be recommended, on account of the modified position of the words; yet even there, on a very minute examination, the connection expresses the meaning, that swearing in general is forbidden. This absolute prohibition of our Lord can afford no difficulty, if here we likewise bear in mind the distinction between the position under the law and that under the Gospel. Swearing, if considered *per se*, is an emanation of sin; on the part of him who demands it, it betrays a mistrust in his brother; and on the part of him who offers to swear without being required to do so, it shows a knowledge of his own precariousness, or of the dominion of sin in those on whose account he swears. In a world of falsehood, it is a necessary requirement, in order to attain some security of intercourse. Yea, even God himself condescends and swears by himself, the unchangeable, because changeable man is disposed to consider as changeable even the very Unchangeable himself.² But in the world of truth swearing has no place, and can have none in it, inasmuch as it is neither required by distrust, nor proffered by the untrustworthy. The command of our Lord has its full value in this βασιλεία τῆς ἀληθείας, "kingdom of truth. But as this kingdom of truth flourishes in the Christian world only in secret, and as political institutions, which *must* necessarily exist on account of existing sin, are as yet based upon the Old Testament,³ hence the believer must become a Jew

¹ *De Wette* justly declares this passage as referring to an unconditional prohibition of swearing. *Tholuck*, too, admits that the words, grammatically considered, cannot be understood otherwise than as being expressive of an absolute prohibition; but he thinks, nevertheless, that the analogy of the other commandments (as, for example, Give to every one who asks of thee) makes here, too, a restriction necessary. But hereby it is evident these commandments would take a vague character. In the kingdom of God, *all* things have their full signification without any restriction whatever; but beyond it *none* is literally applicable. According to *Tholuck's* mode of viewing, Christ's commandment would be merely reduced again to the proposition: "Do not forswear yourself."

² Comp. Gen. xxii. 16, xxvi. 3, Numb. xiv. 23, and al. freq. In the New Testament the apostles swear, comp. Hebr. vi. 16, 2 Tim. ii. 7.

³ There is no period more fit than the one we live in to dispel those philanthropic dreams or visions concerning the mental position of the masses living in Christian countries. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, is the only law which can subdue the audacity which resists and is opposed to everything in the shape of order.

unto the Jews likewise in this respect (1 Cor. ix. 20). Hence it is that the Quakers err and mistake both economies, by abrogating swearing in this world of lies, since Christ himself, who gave the commandment, swears in the Sanhedrim (Matth. xxvi. 63). But among the true members of the kingdom of God this commandment, too, will have to be executed in its rigid form; only with the oath is always to be considered the position of the individual with respect to political communion, whence the believer may be unable to follow out, in its pure sense, the more exalted view, as, indeed, is the case with matrimony, in which the main point treated of is the relation of the husband to his wife. Belonging to two spheres of life, he must satisfy both according to the necessities of their existence; hence the believer may swear by desire of the authorities, and yet fulfil literally, under legal authority, the commandment of Christ towards his brethren.

Ver. 38—42. The *fifth* example comprises the nature of the law under one general principle, and contrasts with the Pharisaical mode of viewing it, the Gospel-principle. The idea of retaliation (*jus talionis*, "law of retaliation"), which forms the general basis of the law, is expressed in the words, ὁφθαλμὸν ἀντι ὁφθαλμοῦ, "an eye in place of an eye," scil. δίδους, "thou shalt give," x. τ. λ., &c., Exod. xxi. 24. But the Pharisees practised retaliation in such a manner, that it became a shelter, or cover for revenge and uncharitableness. Christ, on the contrary, views the idea in the light of the purest love, and unfolds, therefore, the commandment of self-sacrifice and resignation. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, is the external law of the government of the world; but love takes upon itself the guilt of a brother, and causes, by this becoming like him, that thereby he becomes also like unto itself. And thus love changes the *jus talionis*, "law of retaliation," into *redemption* and *forgiveness*, which, too, is only an inverse *retaliation*, and which, hence, cannot exist without the sufferings of the Redeemer. This victory by humiliation is the very life of the Gospel; the law is based upon the ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ, "to resist evil," upon the principle of repelling power by means of power.¹ Hence, the expressions of love, in juxtapo-

¹ Πονηρον cannot here be well considered as a neuter, for to resist evil *per se* is our duty under every condition. But evil here is viewed as operating within an individual, in whom there exists likewise a susceptibility for what is good. In reference to this union of good and evil,

sition with the gross character of retaliation, are represented in four examples, which are arranged in one anticlimax. The most difficult of all is corporeal offence (*ἐπαίξιν*, "to slap, to smite with the open hand," is nearly allied to *κολαφίζιν*, "to beat or strike;" this term, however, signifies more to strike with the fist, to buffet); to this is joined the act of *demanding* or *reclaiming* of property (*κρίνειν*, "to institute a law-suit"); *asking*, as the mildest form of demand, forms the conclusion. *Ἀγγαρεύειν*, "to compel, to press, as belonging to both, stands between these two last formulas. (This expression is of Persian origin, but was adopted in the course of time into the principal languages of antiquity; and the Aramaic language also adopted it. Comp. Buxt. Lex. Tal. on *ܐܢܓܪܝܐ*.¹) In St Luke vi. 30 a further addition is made in the following words, *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίρει*, which literally signifies, "and of him that takes away thy goods ask them not back," which is the general idea of the special instances given by St Matthew. (*Ἀπαίρειν* = *ܐܢܓܪܝܐ*, to require, to demand back from any one, sc. what is one's own.)

What has been observed above with regard to marriage and swearing may be applied, in like manner, to the carrying out of this commandment. Our Redeemer, notwithstanding by his precept for the *βασιλεία*, "kingdom," intends by no means to abrogate the truth and equity of "an eye for an eye," considered from the legal point of view; whoever adopts this cannot and must not be treated otherwise than according to the law.²

our Redeemer can say that the member of the kingdom of God does not resist the overt acts of sin, in order to procure, through the revelation of suffering love which herein is expressed, a complete victory to the good dwelling within the heart of his brother.

¹ This term was first received into the Greek language, from whence it was subsequently adopted by the Jews, Romans, and other nations of antiquity. *Ἀγγαρεύω* originally signified to send off an express or courier, (*ἄγγελος*) such as were first established by Cyrus, or according to Herodotus, by Xerxes, in order that the royal letters, messages, &c. might be transmitted with the least possible delay. These *ἄγγαροι* were empowered to press into their service men, horses, carriages, or anything they might require as contributing to hasten their journey; and hence the subsequent signification to *press*, to *constrain*, &c. (Comp. *Xen. Cyr.* viii. 6, 17; *Herodot.* viii. 98; A. H. L. Heeren's *Ideen über Politik, &c. der vornehmsten Völker des Alterthums*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 534.—T.)

² In this manner the Redeemer himself answers the rude servant who struck him on the cheek with the palm of his hand: If I have spoken

But whoever is impressed with the spirit of the gospel, without having been able as yet to subdue sin, for him is suited the procedure pointed out by our Redeemer. Wherever the feelings are as yet too hardened and too rude, towards such an one it would not be love, but a want of love to reveal a love not capable of being understood. What, for example, could be more wanting in love than the literal practice of the *πᾶσι τῷ αἰρουμένῳ σε δίδου*, "to whomsoever asketh of thee give." That would be an encouragement of begging reprobates. Hence, the application and exercise of the laws of love cannot be reduced to fixed rules; it is love only that teaches their proper application, and which enables him, who is taught by the Scriptures and educated for the kingdom of heaven, to produce from out his treasury things old and new. The law finds always its application to *this* order of things before the kingdom of God becomes revealed; but the Gospel, too, has its circle or sphere, within which it always developes its character gradually with increasing perfection.

Ver. 43—45. Finally, Jesus comes to the most exalted and final end of all his precepts, to *love* itself. The commandment: *וְאָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ*, "thou shalt love thy neighbour," Levit. xix. 18, referred, according to the connection, it is true, more especially to the people of Israel, which, in the then undeveloped position of the people, represented the totality (to which *רֵעֶךָ*, "companion, neighbour," in its deepest sense, referred). But the hypocritical Pharisees inferred from this commandment that it was permitted to hate the enemy (*ἐχθρός*, "an enemy," like *hostis*, "a stranger," which implies here one not of the same people. Comp. *Wettstein* on these passages, and *Schöttgen* on the pass. in quest.) Hence, they not merely *suffered* the hatred of enemies as a thing that could not altogether be subdued at the moment, but they *fostered* it as something permissible, yea, as something that was commanded (*implicite*, by implication) in the commandment. This offensive mode of viewing the Old Testament is contrasted by Jesus with his own manner of viewing, wherein he endeavours to unfold its true internal character and principle. The fulness of love, as taught by Jesus, and as

evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me? John xviii. 23. To offer him his other cheek, would have been an offence against love, inasmuch as it would have led the man into the temptation, to increase his guilt by increased vileness. Similar to this is the proceeding of St Paul, comp. Acts of the Ap. xxiii. 3.

communicated to his disciples from his rich store, extends not only over the narrow circle of national union, but its ministry extends likewise beyond the connection, even to those who are opposed thereto. The various ways of expressing love (*ἀγαπᾶν*, "to regard with strong affection," *εὐλογεῖν*, "to speak well of, to bless, to commend," *καλῶς ποιεῖν*, "to do good," *προσεύχισθαι*, "to pray for") form a climax, and are thus opposed to the forms of hatred; these latter, as such, in their own nature, it is true, cannot and must not be loved; but we must love the individuals within whom they dwell or reveal themselves, inasmuch as the germ of a nobler existence lies dormant within them, which is to be awakened by the power of love. But in this (commanded) love, all (pathological) love, such as is found in the sphere of our natural feelings, is quite out of the question, for a love such as this cannot possibly be engendered by expressions of hatred, it can only be kindled by something akin to itself; how much less, then, the love which is the *power of the will*, which is called upon to overcome all the (adverse) impressions made on our feelings. Hence, the manifestation of love to our enemies is marked as the moment of man's assimilation with God (in the *ὁμός*, "son," is expressed the representation, reflex, of that image which the Father bears in himself.) As God abhors and commands to abhor that which is evil (Rom. xii. 9), and yet bestows his blessings on the evil-doer, so does also he who lives in pure (Divine) love. The Spirit of God that dwells in him directs him in his separation of the evil from the man, and thus, whilst it teaches him to hate the former, it likewise enjoins him to love the latter. But a love such as this man cannot appropriate to himself through a resolution of will, or by means of endeavour, because this love is a Divine love; he can only obtain it through a spiritual communication by faith. But this by no means precludes our endeavours to practise it even before we obtain it, inasmuch as it is thereby only that our knowledge of how much man stands in need of it becomes properly awakened. (*Ἐπηρεάζω*, "to misuse, to treat despitefully," is only to be found besides in Luke vi. 28, 1 Peter iii. 16. It is, according to *Pollux*, a judicial expression, signifying to carry before the judge in terms of insult and invective; and thence it signifies, in a general sense, to insult, to treat with contumely. St Luke inserts, moreover [vi. 35], the significant words: *δανίζετε μὴδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες*, which means literally "lend, expecting nothing

in return," or as the English translation gives it: Lend, hoping for nothing again; in these words is reflected, in like manner, pure uncalculating love. This idea, moreover, St Luke has treated of afterwards more amply, when speaking of the form in which natural love is expressed. An unessential transposition excepted, St Luke has here, on the whole, the same ideas, which certainly must be considered, therefore, as original integral parts of the Sermon in the Mount.)

Ver. 46, 47. As a parallel to this sacred love, which even admits that which is hostile within the circle of its ministrations, a love which is bestowed on man only in his regenerate state, Jesus brings forward natural love, which only loves what is nearly related to it; thus loving in fact itself. ("Whosoever loves his wife loves himself," Ephes. v. 28.) This love (a few traits of love to enemies excepted, which present, as it were, tones in accordance with a future more exalted degree of religious life, as, for example, that of David, 1 Sam. xxvi.) proclaims itself as the one ruling throughout the Old Testament. As such, it stands not *opposed* to the more exalted love of Christ, but only below it as something subordinate that has what is analogous thereto even in the animal world. The terms *τελῶναι*, "publicans, collectors of taxes," and *ἔθνηκοί*, "heathens, Gentiles," of St Matthew, as well as the *ἁμαρτωλοί*, "sinners," of Luke v. 80 (Matth. xxi. 31 gives it *πόρναι*, "harlots"), are adduced as the images of that which was despicable current among the Pharisees. The implication in the lowest condition of life, as regards rank or station, forms a peculiar characteristic of the *τελῶνῃς*, "publican, tax-gatherer," whence tax-gatherers were used, as it were, as the symbol of worldliness and its temptations. (*Ἀσπάζεσθαι*, "to embrace, to salute," is the usual expression for the outward marks of affection in general.) Moreover, the idea of *μισθός*, "reward," is brought forward again in these verses (comp. ver. 12). Natural love is represented as bestowing an inferior reward to pure love. Herein is clearly expressed a condescendence to the legal point of view, inasmuch as it is, indeed, the nature of pure love to seek for no reward but the one contained in itself. But as in the possession of this, indeed, is contained whatever is beatifying, i.e. blessed, since God is love (1 John iv. 8), and since *no one* can love except he in whom God dwells, hence it is true, indeed, that its reward is very great. But the *separation* or distinction between love and its reward, and of the striv-

ing after the former on account of the latter, can only take place under the legal point of view; pure love only seeks itself for its own sake, inasmuch as it contains within itself all that is worth wishing for.

Ver. 48. The last words contained in this verse complete and form the key-stone of the whole. For, the general result not only of the last commandments of our Lord, but of all the preceding, is the attainment of *perfection*. (The expression *ἵσαθε οὖν*, "be ye therefore," is parallel with the above *ὅπως γένησθε*, "that ye may be," of ver. 45.) For, in order to keep even one of these commandments such as they have here been represented by our Lord, nothing less is required than perfection. Hence it does not change the idea or meaning if we read, instead of *τέλειοι*, "perfect" (as in St Matthew), *οἰκτίρμονες*, "pitiful, merciful," according to St Luke (vi. 36). For, we can conceive neither pure love nor compassion as existing *alone* in the human mind without the other qualifications which are comprehended in the *τελειότης*, "perfection," so that with the one must be conceived necessarily all the others. But to subtilise the notion of *τέλειος*, and to apply it to relative perfection only, is evidently forbidden by the additional words: *ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν*, "as your father," which, when compared with ver. 45, can be understood as implying nothing but that the image of God was to be reflected in men as *υἱοὶς ὑψίστου*, "in sons of the most high." The passage, therefore, is parallel with that of the Old Testament: *וְהָיִיתֶם קְדוֹשִׁים כִּי אֲנִי קְדוֹשׁ*, "and ye shall be holy, for I am holy" (Levit. xi. 44), which is made use of by St Peter, *ἁγιοί γένησθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι*, "be ye holy, for I am holy" (1 Peter i. 16), in which likewise its explanation is found. For, as to wit, therein the requirement of holiness in men is *founded* on the holiness of God, so it is here likewise the case with regard to perfection; hence, our passage might be read: *ἵσαθε τέλειοι, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τέλειός ἐστι*, "be ye perfect, for God is perfect." The perfection of man, as well as his holiness, must not be one, separated and put asunder from that which is divine, such as man might be able to create by his own endeavours and actions, but, on the contrary, it must be *the very thing itself*; God himself will be in man the perfect and holy. Hence, the passage must be explained on the principle that every person speaking is the expounder of his own words, even if the opinion itself be considered as being erroneous. Jesus teaches everywhere (especially

in John xiv. 23; xv. 5, 7; xvii. 23, 26) that the Divinity dwells within man, and it is from this profound fundamental idea of Christianity, which destroys all individual righteousness and holiness, that we must explain our passage.

St Matthew vi. 1—6. After exhibiting this preliminary parallel of the holy in the doctrine of Jesus, with the unholy in the doctrine of the Scribes, the thread of the discourse is resumed once more from v. 20. The mere semblance is contrasted with the substance, i.e. the thing itself; the object and sole aim of the former is that which is visible and transitory, (*ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, "that they may have glory of men,") and that of the latter, that which is invisible, as that which is everlasting; God in heaven stands herein opposed to men on earth. The *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness,"¹ implies here, as in v. 20, the general notion of a just relation to God, considered from the point of view of the Old as well as the New Testament. This contrast is viewed with reference to alms, (ver. 2,) and to prayer, (ver. 5,) as the prominent features and expressions of a religious life. (The term *σαλπίζειν*, "to trumpet, to sound a trumpet," must not be taken in the mere literal sense of the word, but figuratively, to do anything with ostentation.—*Μισθὸν ἀπείχων*, "to have a reward," is used with reference to the time of the future general recompense, when only that which is eternal will find its reward, because it was accomplished by the ministry of the everlasting Spirit of God). The figure in ver. 3 cannot imply a total unconsciousness, which cannot take place everywhere, or in all cases, but only the non-appropriation to itself ("Sichaneignen") of the action; every good action must be traced back to its origin, to that spiritual spring from whence the impulse flows; there it already finds its secret reward, which, at a future period, will be conferred openly. This internal, humble unconsciousness of the Christian's own good actions, forms a strong contrast with the trumpeting forth of the Pharisees externally of their works of love.—(*Ταμειδον*, "a secret or hiding place," = *עלִיָּה* = *ὑπερῶν*, an upper chamber, or "the upper part of a house," where they might retire for silent prayer and meditation. Acts of the Apostles x. 9, comp. Isa. xxvi. 20.—The expression, *ὑπε-*

¹ The reading *ἰλεημοσύνη*, "pity, compassion," which is defended by very many Codices, is probably only an explanation of *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," which stands according to the Hebrew term *צְדָקָה*, "righteousness," in the Greek language, of a subsequent period, for "alms." In the sense of goodness, charity, it is used by St Paul in 2 Cor. ix. 9.

κρίτης, "hypocrite," is very frequently met with in the Gospels, comp. for example, ver. 5, 16; vii. 5; xv. 7; xvi. 3; xxiii. 13; al. freq. in the Gospel of St Matth. Furthermore, in St Luke vi. 42; xi. 44, al. freq. The verb ὑποκρίνεσθαι, "to play the hypocrite, to dissemble," is only found in St Luke xx. 20. Originally it was = ἀποκρίνεσθαι, "to answer," more especially, to answer as a character in a play, i.e. to perform or act on the stage. And then it signifies in general to assume a foreign form, to feign. In the New Testament it is always used when speaking of religious *form*, when it does not correspond with the internal *nature*.

Ver. 7—13 sets forth the subject of the last remark in a special point of view. In Phariseeism, namely, is manifested, not only the nature of hypocrisy in prayer, but likewise the heathen notion (which is ever reproduced from the indwelling heathenism of human nature,) that prayer acts as an *opus operatum*, hence through, i.e. according to, the length and copiousness of the words. Imbued with the pure idea of God, the Saviour teaches us to consider the internal disposition, and the purity of thought arising from it, as that which is pleasing to God. St Matthew, at the same time, presents to us a model, or form of prayer given by Jesus, in which simplicity, deep thought, and humility, are intimately amalgamated with one another. St Luke xi. 1 states the circumstances which induced our Lord to give such a form. The disciples felt their necessity, and called on his abundant mercy for a prayer. Hence it is said, οὕτως προσεύχετε ὑμεῖς, literally: "pray ye after this manner," for it is a prayer which is calculated for the position of sinful men, not for him who knew no sin. (The expression βαττολογεῖν,¹ "to use empty words, to repeat the same thing over and over," must not be derived from Βαττα, *effutivit* [Infin. *effutire*, "to prate"], but according to Suidas: ἀπὸ Βάττου τινὸς μακροῦς καὶ πολυστίχους ὕμνου ποιήσαντος, "from a certain Battus, a composer of long hymns to the gods, of many verses." Hence, βαττολογία = πολυλογία, "much speaking.") *Superstition* ascribes the reason for the granting of a prayer, not indeed to the mercy of God, but to its own god-

¹ Comp. the ample treatise on this rare expression, which is used by *Simplicius* only once (in *Epict. enchir. c. 37.*) in *Tholuck*, at the passage mentioned, p. 362 sqq.

² The passage of Suidas, above alluded to, runs thus: Βαττολογία ἡ πολυλογία, ἀπὸ Βάττου τινὸς μακροῦς καὶ πολυστίχους ὕμνου ποιήσαντος, ταυτολογίαν ἔχοντα, "Battologia or polulogia, from a certain Battus, a composer of long hymns of many verses full of tautology." The Battus

less work. *Unbelief* infers from the omniscience of God, (in which he himself, i.e. the unbeliever, does not believe,) the nothingness or uselessness of prayer. *Faith* founds upon this same holy, gracious, divine Omniscience, its poor prayer. Thus our Lord teaches us to pray in faith, *because* God knows before we ask him what things we have need of; (χρεία, "need," must here be taken both in a physical and spiritual sense,) and thereby can inspire the to him acceptable prayer, and grant it accordingly. Hence, the idea expressed in οὐδὲ γάρ, "for he knoweth," must be regarded as the reason which prevents the Christian from praying in the manner of the heathen. The believer prays, not for God's sake, (in order to render him a service,) but he prays for his own sake; God's knowing this, therefore, affords him the comfort of knowing that he cannot pray falsely, i.e. in vain, for he prays only for the will of God, i.e. that the will of God be done, and not for his own will. The prayer of the believer, therefore, is nothing less than that the Divine will should be revealed among men; this is expressed in the Lord's prayer; it is an impression or image of the most exalted, ultimate, divine plans for the government of the world, with all things, collectively and individually, thereunto belonging.

With regard to the construction of the text of *our Lord's prayer*,¹ there can be no doubt, that the doxology at the conclusion thereof is of later origin, and that it has been added for liturgical purposes. In the *Const. apost.* vii. 24, it appears that in the first stages of its origin, it ran thus: *δοῦ σου ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία εἰς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.* "For thine is the kingdom for ever. Amen." But its meaning is profound, and in accordance with the spirit of the prayer; hence, it must have originated at a period when there still existed in the church the true Christian spirit. The doxology is wanting in the *Codd.* B. D. L. and in many others, as may be seen from *Griesbach's* New Testament. And yet, do we meet with it as early as in the *Peschito* MS., wherein it may be, however, a mere interpolation. In like manner are wanting in the text of St Luke the prayers: *γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ*

here spoken of was a king of Cyrene, who, according to Herodotus iv. 155, stuttered (*Barroç* properly means a stutterer,) very much, and who, according to other writers, was a poet of silly and talkative habits, whose love of long hymns, &c. had become quite proverbial.—T.

¹ We have separate expositions of this prayer from the pens of *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, which is literally "thy will be done as in heaven so also on the earth," and ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, "but deliver us from the evil." These are wanting not only in B. L., but even in the most ancient fathers, as in *Origen* (de Orat. p. 226, edit. de la Rue vol. ii.), who expressly makes mention of the omission. Yet, it does not necessarily follow from this that these prayers are spurious in the Lord's prayer itself; St Luke much rather proves himself to be abbreviating in this place, as he does with regard to v. 1 sqq. of the Gospel of St Matthew. The passages, it is true, do not essentially belong to the prayer, inasmuch as they are contained in the petitions immediately preceding them; but they are necessary for the perfect development of the contents thereof.¹ The question: *whether it was the intention of Christ to present in this prayer a certain fixed formula that was to be at all times adhered to*, may be answered best thus, that the paramount design our Redeemer had in view, was to teach the disciples to pray in the spirit; but in so far as he foresaw the establishment of an external church, which would necessarily require liturgical forms, he might have aimed, in like manner, at a lasting application of it; and the church has done well in holding fast to our Lord's prayer. That no value, meanwhile, is on that account to be ascribed to the letter, is made evident from the deviations with which the Evangelists themselves have communicated this prayer. In the *Rabbinical* and *Talmudical* writings may be found (according to *Wetstein*, *Schöttgen*, *Lightfoot*, on this passage) very many passages and thoughts or ideas that are closely related to the isolated prayers or petitions; from this may be seen, how many things of a truthful and spiritual character there are to be found in the Jewish writings, only they are usually mixed up with errors that have emanated from pedantic Rabbis. But it would be very preposterous to suppose, that Jesus compiled his prayer through reflection out of such elements of Jewish prayers, because of the relation or affinity which exists between

¹ Concerning the review of our Lord's prayer, as given by St Luke, compare the foregoing remarks with those on Luke xi. 3 sqq. As regards the missing doxology, s. *Rödiger's* "Abhandlung," at the end of the synopsis, p. 231 sqq. With regard to the transposition made by Tertullian of the second and third petition, see *Nitzsch* in the "Studien und Kritiken," of Ullmann and Umbreit, for the year 1830, part iv., p. 846 sqq. *Meyer's* Bl. für h. Wahrh., vol. v., p. 10 sqq., give an exposition of the prayer.

his prayer and these Rabbinical sentences. For, whatever benefit he may have derived from his popular education, and whatever truth and nobleness it may have offered to him, still, all this had only the effect of forwarding his internal development, and even whatever he thus received, he reproduced it with renewed force by his internal creative power of life. The exposition, however, not only should unfold the ideas contained in the isolated passages, but should also grapple with them in their entire connection. Considered as a whole, our Lord's prayer contains only *one* thought, or idea, the longing after the kingdom of God,¹ to which all the prayers of the children of God (as those whom Jesus here teaches to pray) aspire. But this one idea must be viewed as having *two* references; *first*, with regard to the relation of God to men, which is expressed in the three first petitions, which represent the kingdom of God as still perfecting itself, wherein that which is God's highest object is uttered in the form of a wish; *secondly*, with regard to the relation of men to God, which is expressed in the four last petitions, in which are reviewed the obstacles to the progress of the kingdom of God. In the *first* part, therefore, the discourse begins with the riches of God.

Thy Name be hallowed,
Thy Kingdom come,
Thy Will be done.

In the *second* part, on the contrary, it commences with the poverty of man.

Us give daily bread,
Us forgive our debts,
Us lead not into temptation,
Us deliver from evil.

In the very significant doxology is expressed the certain hope that the prayer will be heard, a hope, which is founded on the nature of the unchangeable God himself, who, as the highest good, will realize the good at his appearance (the kingdom of God). This prayer permits, at the same time, its application as well to each single individual, who is nevertheless induced, by the plural pervading the whole, to consider himself as in communion with all, as also to the whole human race; and because it is expressed by the innermost heart of mankind itself, and

¹ Luther, therefore, justly says: "The true Christian says an *everlasting* 'Our Father,'" namely, in so far as all his longing is concentrated in the idea of the kingdom of God.

inasmuch as it takes a view *ex fundamento* of the relation of God to sinful humanity; hence, it satisfies equally the necessities of the whole and of the individual, provided only that each individual lives in faith. Every prayer directed towards that which is everlasting, and not towards transitory individualities, “vergängliche Particularitäten,” is offered up in our Lord’s prayer.

In the *address*: *πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*, literally, “our Father who art in the heavens,” is contained, in the first place, the elevation from the terrestrial, perishable, to the eternal, imperishable; and in the second, the knowledge of the relation of our *selves* to the Everlasting. The expression *πάτερ*, “father,” presupposes the consciousness of the *υἱοθεσία*, “adoption, i.e. sonship” (Rom. viii. 15), which is as yet undeveloped, inasmuch as Divine things would otherwise be transferred less strongly to the world to come. It is herein that the prayer makes itself manifest as of the New Testament; for, even though Isaiah exclaims: *אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲבִירֵנוּ*, “for thou art our father” (Isa. lxiii. 16), still therein is displayed a momentary flash of the more exalted life of the New Testament; but in general it is the relation of the servant to the master (which discards the idea of relationship) which predominates in the Old Testament. The *first* petition: *ἀγιάσθη τὸ ὄνομά σου*, “hallowed be thy name,” stands in close connection with the two which follow. The term *ἀγιάζεσθαι*, used when speaking of unholy things, signifies to sanctify, to render holy;¹ but used of holy things, it signifies to regard and venerate as holy, to hallow, = *יִקְדָּשׁ*. The propagation of the genuine adoration of God is then that which is contained in this supplication. Only *St Augustin* (De Corr. et grat. c. 6.) observes very correctly, that this must here not be regarded as an external, but as an internal propagation, so that the passage should be read: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum in nobis*, “hallowed be thy name *in us*.” The recognition of what is holy (not only in idea, but in substance) implies internal sanctity, for only things of a similar nature will sympathise with one another (Psalm xxxvi. 10); the signification of *ἀγιάζεσθαι*, therefore, is here related to *δοξάζεσθαι*, “to glorify,” in the language of St John (John xiii. 31; xiv. 13; xv.

¹ *Tholuck* conceives it as implying “to treat sacredly, to keep holy,” a view which presupposes a state of holiness, “*Heiligseyn*,” if it is to be a true hallowing. Hence, it appears more natural to have here the cause named than the consequence or effect.

8, al. freq.), in the sense of to magnify, to honour. The Divine name *ὄνομα* = *ὁ* stands for the Divine Being himself, in so far as he expresses and reveals himself in his nature. (See the classical [classiche] passage, Exod. xxiii. 21.) Hence, the Divine nature must be glorified in the human, and thus make itself known to man in its true nature, and then only can the kingdom of God come. The *second* supplication, *ἐλθίτω ἡ βασιλεία σου*, "thy kingdom come," implies the appearing *externally* of the Divine thing ministering *internally*, which is presupposed in the first supplication; but in so far as the kingdom of God itself appears in a state of progression and development, Christ adds to the third supplication: *γενήσῃ τὸ θέλημά σου κ. τ. λ.*, "thy will be done," &c., in order to express the perfect consummation of the kingdom of God, a consummation which is contained in the unrestricted fulfilment of the Divine will, so that the three supplications stand to one another as beginning, middle, and end. The passage *ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, literally: "as in heaven so also on the earth," expresses the *unconditionality* (Unbedingte) of the fulfilment of the will, which now only belongs to that which is heavenly, but which, in its consummation, will likewise form a part of that which is earthly.

In the *second* part of the Lord's prayer is considered and described the subjective distance from the kingdom of God and the degrees of approach thereto, wherein is implied, as it were, the completion of the sentence, "in order that such may come to pass, give us daily the bread of life." That *ἄρτος*, "bread," here does not signify merely food for the body, is evident from the connection; it stands among purely spiritual supplications, and hence it implies spiritually directed supplicants, that is, persons asking for spiritual things. The individual praying must proceed onward, it is true, from his physical existence, and ascend gradually to the more exalted; hence, the reference to corporeal food which conditions the existence of the whole man, cannot be excluded, nay, it may be considered as the most urgent; but still the spiritual food is always included, since otherwise the important supplication for the Spirit of God would be wholly wanting in the prayer. (Concerning *ἄρτος*, as the spiritual food for the spiritual man, comp. St Matth. iv. 4, John vi. 32, with 41, 48, 50, 51.) Difficult to understand is the expression *ἐπιούσιος* (translated "daily"), which is found nowhere but in this place.¹ Some derive it from the

¹ *Origen* (de Orat. p. 94) regards it as a word formed by the Evan-.

participle *ἐπιοῦσα*, which is used in the sense of *sequens*, following, (Acts of the Apostles vii. 26; xvi. 11; xxi. 18; xxiii. 11), especially in the phrase: *ἡμέρα ἐπιοῦσα*, "the day following," = *מָחָר*, "the morrow," which, according to St Jerome, was found in this place in the Hebrew MS. of this Gospel (see the *Comm. in Matth.* on this passage.) But this mode of interpreting the term in question (which *Dr Paulus* refers as well to the future in general) stands in contradiction to St Matthew vi. 34, wherein the care for the morrow is put aside altogether. The combination, in that case, of *σήμερον*, "to-day," with *ἐπιοῦσας*, is evidently out of keeping. Others derive it with more plausibility from *οὐσία*, "substance," either in the *substantial* sense, so that the expression may indicate more clearly bread in its true nature, i.e. as the food for the true nature of man; or that only which is necessary for existence, that which is enough. Such is the opinion of *Tholuck*.

With the knowledge of the dependence of the spiritual and corporeal life upon God and his preserving power, is given the knowledge of *guilt*, which is brought forward in the *fifth* supplication, from whence the prayer proceeds to the removal of all the obstacles arising therefrom by forgiving (i.e. blotting out) love. That the prayer is the prayer of a believer is evident from the passage *ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν*, "as also we forgive;" in it we again perceive that (comp. v. 7) forgiveness is made to depend upon the forgiving love that dwells within the heart, which alone it is that enables us to believe in forgiveness, without denying thereby that this love itself is the gift of grace.¹ The idea

gelist himself without giving any etymology. The derivation from the participle is admissible after *περιούσιος*, "abundant," *ἐθελούσιος*, "voluntary." But it may be derived from the participle of *εἶναι*, "to be," as well as from that of *ἵνα*, "to go;" comp. *Tholuck* on the passage cited, p. 408 sqq.

¹ The passage *ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίμεν*, "as also we forgive," must not be viewed as determining the *measure* of forgiveness; for, if God would not forgive man in a higher degree than he exercises forgiveness himself, no one would be forgiven. God always forgives totally and absolutely, whereas man, frequently even in his most honest or sincere struggle, can only forgive partially, i.e. so that there still remains in his mind something behind. The words must rather be considered as a *proof* how entirely God is himself forgiving love, inasmuch as he pardons the believer not only his sin, but even enables him to pardon others. Hence, to be able to forgive is, with the believer, a *sign* of his state of grace, and whence, the supplication might be transposed in the following manner:—"Forgive us our debts, that is, reveal in us the entire fulness of thy

ὑπερβλημα, "sin, debt," is to be viewed in a wider sense as the abstract idea of sin in general, which even with believers is always contracting new debts, which require a continued forgiveness (blotting out). (Comp. the parable v. 25, and Luke vii. 41 sqq., as likewise what is contained in ver. 14 sqq. following.) With the perception of sin is given, at the same time, the feeling of weakness, which may not only tempt man to transgress now and then the commandment of God, but which may, in like manner, again wholly fall away from it. This point of view is laid hold of in the *sixth* supplication. (Concerning πειράζειν, "to tempt," see on Matth. iv. 1.) The dangerous character, or in fact, the danger itself, of temptation, for the averting of which the children of God do pray, is contained in the disproportion of the power of the new life to that of evil. Hence, the fear of God dwelling in the believer prays that the cup may pass from him. Our Redeemer, after he had been led already into the one temptation (in the beginning of his ministry), and after that he had overcome it for the salvation of mankind,¹ still prays himself (inasmuch as he became in all things like unto us, only that he remained free from sin), at his second temptation (at the end of his ministry), "if it be possible, let this cup pass from me" (Matth. xxvi. 39). Hence, there is contained in this supplication no assurance that the believer shall meet with no temptation; on the contrary, as our Lord drank the cup, so must, in like manner, every one of his followers drink of *his* cup. (Matth. xx. 23.)

forgiving love, in the same manner as thou permittest us to taste it by the privilege of forgiving in thy strength." Besides, it must not be overlooked, that the question here is the forgiveness of *debts contracted by men towards men*, for, *guilt contracted against the Lord* by others, man neither can nor must forgive. Thus David forgives Shemei the guilt *against himself*, but on his deathbed he remembers his *guilt against the Lord*; in like manner does the Apostle Paul act, according to 2 Tim. iv. 14, 16.

¹ Comp. the Epistle to the Hebrews ii. 18, ἐν ᾧ γὰρ πέποιθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθεῖς, δύναται τοῖς πειραζομένοις βοηθῆσαι, "For in that he himself suffered, being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted." And furthermore 1 Cor. x. 13, where πειρασμοὶς ἀνθρώπινος, "human temptation, i.e. one common to men," seems to be contrasted with another, viz. Θεοῦ, "that which is of God," in which God himself, as with Abraham, Job, and other princes of the believers, especially with our Redeemer, led them into temptation; at trials such as these nature shudders. But the *being* led into temptation must be well distinguished from the predeterminate and wilful *entering* into it, which is identical with the πειράζειν τὸν Θεόν, "tempting of God."

As the two preceding supplications have already referred to the redemption in detail, so, in like manner, does the *seventh* supplication view, or treat of, the redemption in its comprehensive idea.¹ As the whole prayer emanates from the spirit of communion of all believers, so in like manner is finally expressed that which is good in contradistinction to that which is evil, by the total conquest of which is conditioned the consummation of the kingdom of God, as well as the impossibility of any temptation. (Hence, *αλλά*, "but," must be regarded as the converse to the preceding supplication.) Whether *τοῦ πονηροῦ*, "from evil," be regarded as a noun masculine, or neuter, is all one, so long as the neuter is considered as implying all that is wicked (and which partakes of evil), in which acceptance it forms the element of Satan himself. Yet, is the masculine more according to the language of the Bible. (Matth. xiii. 19, comp. with ver. 38; Ephes. vi. 16; 2 Thess. iii. 3.) The supplication for the completion of the work of redemption becomes again connected with the beginning, inasmuch as this perfect redemption is the kingdom of God; but the doxology (which, even though it may not have been spoken by our Redeemer himself, still is added by the church in the Christian spirit,) warrants the fulfilment of what is prayed for through the knowledge, that all belongs to God, hence, that every good thing is as sure of its victory through this highest and only good, as that which is evil is sure of its perdition. But it would appear, at the first glance, as though the *δύναμις*, "power," ought to have been named *before* the *βασιλεία*, "kingdom," as the more inferior thing, through the agency of which only the kingdom becomes realized. But this position has been chosen, no doubt, because the Divine Omnipotence *in the abstract* is not that which we are herein called upon to consider, inasmuch as the whole prayer already presupposes the application thereof in laying the foundation of the kingdom of God. Hence, the doxology—which is, as it were, the seal set to the sure fulfilment of the prayer—justly expresses, that the kingdom is the object of the desire of God; i.e., that the realisation thereof is God's *will*, wherein is implied the idea, that he himself fulfils the same, and hence, that he will surely bring everything to a state of consummate perfection.

¹ Chrysostom, the Calvinists, Arminians, Socinians, and others, acknowledge only six supplications, by combining the sixth and seventh into one.

Ver. 14, 15. In immediate connection with the prayer stands what follows in Luke xi. 5, sqq. St Matthew brings prominently forward, in ver. 12, the idea of exercising forgiveness, in order to obtain forgiveness, which is likewise connected with the last supplication, inasmuch as redemption itself is a comprehensive forgiveness which the forgiving mind alone is capable of. (An analogous idea, in another form of combination, is found St Mark xi. 25, 26.) What is difficult in this idea, is, that forgiveness would seem to be dependent upon pre-existing love, since it is the forgiveness received which creates this love. (See on Luke vii. 47). But the question here is not the first kindling of love which emanates from forgiveness, (though the supposition of forgiveness already presupposes a susceptibility of love), but the exercise of the already kindled love in its individual act. (Παράπτωμα, individual indications or expressions of general ἁμαρτία, "sin," it is = ἁμαρτημα, Mark iii. 28.—Besides, the expression πατὴρ οὐράνιος, "heavenly Father," [like βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, "kingdom of heaven,"] is peculiar to St Matthew. Comp. Matth. vi. 26, 32; xv. 13.)

Ver. 16—18. The verses which follow form a parallel with ver. 2 and 5; they contain new exhortations to seek the substance instead of the shadow. Next to prayer and almsgiving, *Fasting* is viewed as another outward expression of the religious life. (Ἀφανίζω, more especially signifies: to cause to disappear, to annihilate, to destroy, as in ver. 19. Here it signifies to disfigure, the Latin for which is *squalere*. The mournful negligence of the exterior is contrasted with the joyous adornment, expressed by ἀλείψαι, "to anoint," and νίψαι, "to wash.") In that (apparently open) display of religious life, hypocrisy thus manifests itself, which in this (apparently not open) concealment thereof might be falsely sought for. The nature of piety, namely, is the internal relation of the life to God, every bearing towards the external world generates hypocrisy. (The expression ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, "in secret," stands as a contrast to publicity before men; hence, it is equivalent to the inner man [Inwendigen], wherein God reveals himself.) This fundamental idea, that God himself must be the object after which man is to strive, pervades the whole chapter to the end; it is the thread on which are strung the various ideas, which stand, according to St Luke, in a different position with regard to the discourses of Christ.

Ver. 19, 21. Earthly treasures are placed in contrast to the

heavenly ones in their indestructible nature, and therein the Spirit is referred to as the source of all truth. (Σης, tineā, "moth," = **דפ**, Isa. li. 8. *βεῶσις*, signifies in general the act or process of corrosion or decay, which all things earthly are subject to. Rust is not the proper meaning, inasmuch as neither gold nor silver do rust;¹ in Mal. iii. 11 this word also occurs when speaking of a species of worm.²) The reason assigned for this advice to heap up heavenly treasures, is the cleaving of the heart to the treasure. The expression *θησαυρός*, "treasure," is here to be viewed as the object of ardent desire and longing (which emanate from the *καρδία*, "heart;") their concentration on that which is created must make us unhappy, inasmuch as the soul is destined for that which is eternal,—i.e. God.

Ver. 22—24. The seeking after earthly treasures (which is so much against the internal spiritual nature of man) presupposes, therefore, internal impurity. The combination with that which goes before is not altogether simple, although it is not to be mistaken; this points, no doubt, to another original position of the idea (comp. Luke xi. 34, 35). The internal circumstances of the spiritual life are illustrated by physical ones. It is remarkable, that the eye is called *λύχνος*, "light;" it seems to be a mere receptacle of light. Yet, receptivity or susceptibility of light presupposes the nature of light; "had thine eye not been sunny," *Goethe* sings very profoundly and truly, "how could it ever have looked upon the sun!" (Comp. Ps. xxxvi. 10.) The eye (with the light streaming against it), accordingly, appears as the thing itself imparting light, which produces light; a mode of viewing it which is, optically speaking, quite correct.³ The

¹ Comp. nevertheless James v. 3.

² Unless the author means to consider the **שָׂרָפ**, "serpent," Gen. iii. 1, as a species of worm; the reference here to Malachi is not very satisfactory, the word there used is **אֱכָל**, "the devourer," in the Septuagint, *εἰς βεῶσιν*, "the one that devoureth," translated "the destroyer," in the English version, and evidently having reference to the great enemy of man, in his office of universal destroyer of man's earthly comforts, by his malicious interference with the fruits of the earth, whence he is called **בַּעַל-זְבוּב**, German, "Fliegen—Baal," Beelzebub, "the lord of the flies," to wit, the locusts, &c.—T.

³ The same idea is expressed by Philo (De Vit. theor. ii. 482 edit. Mangey), when he writes: ἡ θεωριὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθάνατα ἔργονα εἶναι, σπει-

nature of the corporeal eye, however, conditions its agency; ἀπλοῦς, "single"—πονηρὸς, "evil"—διπλοῦς, "double, twofold," as it were, doublesighted (ver. 24) or quite blind altogether; to which the expression σκοτεινόν, literally, "full of darkness," refers. In a manner altogether similar does our Redeemer look upon the internal spiritual eye, the understanding (the power to comprehend that which is divine);¹ the receptivity, i.e. susceptibility of the same for the light from above, presupposes the very nature of light therein; hence, φῶς ἐν σοί, "the light in thee"—λύχνος, "lamp," ver. 22. Jesus does not teach thereby an absolute moral depravation of the natural man. To bestow the nobler power, destined originally for things divine, on things sensual, is blindness; the internal light is banished, and the power of sight destroyed. The state of spiritual darkness, then, is more terrible than that which is corporeal. But St Luke xi. 36 brings forward likewise the other side of the question, namely, the entire internal illumination of the being, by means of which are dispelled even the least vestiges of dimness (μὴ ἔχον τι μέρος σκοτεινόν, literally, "not having any part dark." Concerning the peculiar difficulties of this passage comp. on Luke xi. 36). With this is immediately connected the mention of the *two masters*; ver. 24, a simile which expresses doublesightedness, the halting between God and the world, in a different way. The force of the contrast is contained in the absolute manner in which the one is excluded by the other. The relation of the κύριοι, "masters," to one another, permits *no indifference* among their servants. The ἀγαπᾶν, "to love," therefore, is contrasted by μισεῖν, "to hate;" and the ἀντίχρῃσθαι, "to hold by, or uphold," with the καταφρονεῖν, "to despise." (Ἀντί-

ραντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἀκτῖνας νοητὰς τοῦ πατρὸς, αἷς διηέσται θεωρεῖν τα σοφίας δόγματα, "the soul that loves God produces undying offspring, for the father impregnates her with the rays of knowledge, by which she is enabled to look into the doctrines of wisdom. Comp. also Gesenius's Lex. on ἑρῶ, "to look, to shine upon," Job xx. 9.

¹ The understanding, admitting that it be pure and undefiled, can comprehend that which is Divine. She is a *receptive* power, but she cannot be *productive* of that which is divine out of herself. She must be carefully distinguished from the intellect, the power of comprehension. In the New Testament the former is designated by νοῦς, "mind," the latter by φρόνησις, "wisdom, prudence" (compare my Opusc. p. 152 sqq.) Philo de cond. Mundi T. i. p. 12 writes thus: ὅπερ νοῦς ἐν ψυχῇ, τοῦτο ὁφθαλμὸς ἐν σώματι, "What the mind is to the soul, such is the eye to the body."

χρῆσθαι τινος, properly speaking, signifies, to seize upon something, to hold fast to, to cleave to = קְרַחֵק, faithfully to care for, to do something, taking an interest in it, 1 Thess. v. 14; Tit. i. 9.) *Μαμμωνας*, as also *μαμμωνᾶς* (according to Luke xvi. 9), from מַמְּוֹן, “mammon,” which is used, according to Buxt. Lex. talm. p. 1217 in the Targums, for the Hebrew כֶּפֶר, רֵצִיעַ, “wealth, riches,” so that the expression may be taken as the Greek *πλοῦτος*, which signifies the same thing, that is, wealth, riches. *St Augustin* remarks on this passage: *Congruit et punicum nomen, nam lucrum punice mammon dicitur*, “the Punic name also agrees therewith, for money or gain in the Punic language is called Mammon.” Contrasted with God, money, conceived, i.e. viewed as an impersonation, appears as an idol after the manner of *Plutus*, without our being able to prove that an idol bearing that name ever received external worship. In the sense of the Redeemer, the signification of Mammon refers to the originator of evil, which consists in the confounding of that which is ungodly with that which is godly. We *must* abhor that which is evil, if we are to love that which is good, Rom. xii. 9; the natural man seeks to avoid this separation, for fear of a struggle with the world, wherein he perceives good and evil to be mingled together; but Christ urges a resoluteness of heart on genuine love, which harbours at the same time a *hatred* against sin, but never against the person of the sinner.

- ✧ Ver. 25—34. Man, fettered by the ordinary necessities of his earthly life, and exhausting his miserable existence in anxieties to satisfy these, is elevated by the Redeemer from out the hands of the prince of this world (who keeps his hold upon his servants by such cares), to a trust in God, through which a sacred care is called forth, which scares away those turmoils of our life and
 ✧ existence of dust and ashes. The passage in Phil. iv. 6 forms a commentary on these words. There the apostle places the command, *μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε*, literally, “be not anxious, i.e. be careful for nothing,” in opposition to the charge to pray to God for things necessary. *Prayer*, then, is the contrast of *care*, because man engaged in prayer commends his care to God. The *natural* man cares without praying; the brute, and the human being who has become brutal, care as little as they pray.—Ver. 25. This part of the discourse originates in a play on the word דאָך = דאָך, which signifies:

1. Life; and,
2. Soul.

Viewed essentially, both significations pervade each other; only, the sensual man places the life-principle in his belly, and regards eating and drinking as his chief exigences. But with the believer, the life (of man as such) is situated in the soul, and the soul only it is which with him constitutes the principle of life (the ψυχή, "soul," namely, viewed as a ψυχή πνευματική, "spiritual soul"); hence, he provides for it first. The μεριμνᾶν τῇ ψυχῇ, "to take care for the life," then is not = ἐν τῇ ψ., "in your soul" = καρδίᾳ, "heart," but ψυχή, "the soul," the psychical life, is the object of care.—Ver. 26. The belief in the fatherly care of God which feeds the body, is awakened by a glance at his government of nature. Πτερινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "fowls of the heaven" = עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם. The general expression appears in St Luke xii. 24 brought down to a special meaning: κατανοήσατε τοὺς κέρακας, "consider the ravens." Man seems related by his body to physical nature; hence, he can in reference to it (i.e. his body) confide himself as unconditionally to the fatherly love of God, as the "fowls of the heaven." But inasmuch as there exists in his physical nature a divine principle of life, so it is this which carries him upward to a higher region of life.

Ver. 27. The helpless state of the creature as to all outward things is here contrasted with the fulness of power of the Creator, who daily feeds every creature living. Man cannot make a blade of grass grow; yea, he cannot alter anything in his own physical self. Ἡλικία signifies, in the first place, stature, size (Luke xix. 3); and in the second place full-age, vigour (John ix. 21). To add a cubit to man's size would be, considering the proportions of the body (which scarcely exceeds three cubits), something monstrous; according to the connection of the whole, something of a more trifling nature must therefore be here indicated. Better then would it be to suppose that here is meant, to add some trifle to a man's age; with this agrees the care for meat and drink which are the conditions of physical life.—Ver. 28. The same thing is made to bear upon raiment. Κρίνον = לוֹלֵא, "lily," Cant. ii. 1. Νήθεα, neo, filum ducere, to spin, to sew.—Ver. 29. The forms of nature outshine, or surpass in beauty all the forms of art; it is the province of art, merely to imitate nature. This is a powerful motive for man's reposing an implicit faith in the wondrous artificer, all

things in whose kingdom, whether great or small, appear arrayed in the fairest raiment.

Ver. 30. If God thus provides for the most perishable things, how much the more, then, will he provide for the inheritors of his everlasting kingdom. (In countries destitute of wood, as the east for the greater part is, the use of other articles for burning, as, for example, grasses and shrubs, is dictated by the nature of the circumstances. Ὀλιγόπιστος, "of little faith," = אֱמֻנָה קְטַנָּה; Matth. viii. 26; xiv. 31; xvi. 8.)—Ver. 32. From hence is derived the prohibition of care, which is represented as based on heathenish views, inasmuch as we there meet, instead of a living God, who is omniscient (ver. 8), with a blind *εἰμαμένη*, "fate, destiny," which compels man to be his own god. The grand, magnificent idea so freely expressed, viz. that the believing child of God has no care, is more clearly set forth in ver. 33 and 34, in order to guard against misunderstanding, such as that the prohibition of care is to exclude every degree of activity as regards the supplying of our earthly wants. The expression *μεριμνᾶν* is contrasted with *ζητεῖν*, "to seek," so that the former signifies the anxious caring *without* God,¹ and the latter the faithful striving *in* and *with* God, (yet St Luke uses *ζητεῖν* = *μεριμνᾶν*, xii. 29). The term *πρῶτον*, "first," places the endeavour or striving for the kingdom of God at the head, with which is joined the care for earthly things. For God's fatherly care manifests itself even through the believer himself; he does not expect, in the God-tempting sense, food to descend through the air. The *βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "kingdom of God," must be received, again, in an indefinite general sense, as applied to things internal and external (see on Matth. iii. 2); as also is the *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," which, although it is an essential ingredient *per se* of the kingdom of God, (Rom. xiv. 17,) is yet brought forward still

¹ St Luke xii. 29 adds the warning, *μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε*, "be not in suspense," i.e. be not doubtful; this is an expression which occurs in the New Testament only in this place. It frequently occurs in the Old Testament (as likewise *μετέωρος*, "soaring, floating in the air," together with its derivatives, *μετεωρισμός*, "suspension, elation of mind," and *μετεωρότης*), as signifying high, elated with pride (Ps. cxxx. 1; Ezek. i. 16, 17; 2 Macc. v. 17; vii. 35). In the sense of *suspensio esse animo*, "to be of doubtful mind, fluctuating between hope and fear, which is not rare with profane writers, it is only found in this place. The *μετεωρισμός*, "suspense," of the *μέριμνα*, "care," is contrasted by the *βεβαιότης*, "steadfastness," of the *πίστις*, "faith."

more, in order to point out the nature of the kingdom of God, (it is immaterial whether it reveals itself internally or externally), and to obviate false views thereof. The expression προσθήσεται, "shall be added," hints at that which is Divine as the first and most proper object of all the cares and strivings of men, with which is conjoined, *necessarily*, and *as a matter of course*, that which is required for the body, if the striving after God be pure. Hence, the exhortation concludes with the words of the beginning: μὴ μεριμνήσεται, "be not anxious," i.e. take no thought (ver. 25). The passage εἰς τὴν αὔριον, "for the morrow," it is true, seems to limit the universal application of the exhortation, and seems to represent the care for the present time as well-founded. Yet, in the idea of care is always contained a reference to the future, and the time present appears as *cared for* (as may be seen from what follows), whence it would appear that the invitation *not* to care is to be laid hold on in its full extent (comp. 1 Pet. v. 7), without thereby, as has been observed already, genuine faithful activity being excluded. With this the words which follow are in perfect harmony: ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς, *liter.* "for the morrow shall be anxious for the things of itself," words in which God appears as the Being caring or providing, inasmuch as the time itself, to which care is attributed, must be viewed in its dependence upon him, through whom is satisfied every necessity of every station in life. Finally, the Saviour observes, moreover, that the life of the believer, even independent of its overwhelming itself with cares for the future, still ever retains its burthen as regards the present (whence it is plain that the here recommended *absence of care* can be no *absence of suffering*), on account of the sinfulness of the world. Κακία, "evil," is chosen intentionally, as a term which denotes physical evils only in accordance with their moral origin. (Ἀρκυτος, "sufficient," is also met with St Matth. x. 25; 1 Pet. iv. 3). As to that which concerns the critical examination of this ver. 34, it must be observed, that the Codices vary as to the words ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς, "for the morrow shall take care for the things belonging to itself," inasmuch as sometimes is left out τὰ ἑαυτῆς, "the things belonging to itself," in another, τὰ, "the things," only, and inasmuch as now περὶ ἑαυτῆς, "concerning itself," is inserted, and again ἑαυτῇ, "for itself. Essentially, the various readings do not alter the sense, but as the usual construction of μεριμνάω, "to take care, or thought," is seq. accus.

with an accusative; one might feel induced to give the preference to *ιαυτῆς*, as the more uncommon expression. More important is the *punctuation* adopted by *Fritzsche* (Comm. on Matth. p. 284) in the text, which varies from the usual one, *μη οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον· ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει*, "take no care, therefore, for the morrow, for the morrow shall take care." *τὰ ἱαυτῆς ἀρκούντων τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἡ κακία αὐτῆς*, "sufficient unto the day are the things which belong thereto, the evil thereof." The passage *ἡ κακία αὐτῆς*, "the evil thereof," must then be conceived as the apposition to *τὰ ἱαυτῆς*, "the things which belong thereto." The punctuation appears to me as being recommendable, only it seems as though the words *ἡ γὰρ αὔριον μεριμνήσει*, "for the morrow shall take care," produce the impression of something bare or incomplete; the addition rounds off the idea more. In essence, however, the idea is not altered even by this punctuation.

The series of normal-rules or precepts, which follow each other in the sermon on the mount, in chapter the seventh, at once betrays itself thereby as not having formed originally one connection, inasmuch as it is wholly against the character of the normal-rule or precept to be accumulated in a *discourse*: it is only when isolated, that they display therein their full efficacy. In the Scriptures, where the reader may reflect quietly on the profundity of the meaning or sense, the thing assumes a different form, and therefore St Matthew has done well in forming the collection of normal-rules in this place, wherein he intended to point out the peculiar characteristics of the manner in which Jesus taught. The idea, which, in itself, embraces the whole subject, is this; to place in contrast with the prevailing notions the character of the disciples of the Messiah in its peculiar individuality, in order to make, or render, evident that which is new in the phenomena of the gospel.

Ver. 1, 2. This idea is treated of more fully in St Luke vi. 37, 38, and matter of a similar character is found in St Mark iv. 24. That the term *κρίνειν*, "to judge," *κρίμα*, "judgment," made use of by St Matthew in the normal precept, must evidently be regarded as = *κατακρίνειν*, "to give judgment against, to condemn;" *κατακρίμα*, "condemnation, judgment against," as occurs Rom. ii. 1; xiv. 3, 4; 1 Cor. v. 12; and al. freq., may be seen from the parallel, *καταδικάζειν*, "to give sentence against, to condemn," of St Luke vi. 37, which points out clearly the signification of *κρίνειν*, "to judge," which is also made apparent from

the opposite terms, ἀπολύειν, "to free," and δίδοναι, "to pardon," of which the former expression signifies, "to let go free, discharge from custody" (*absolvere reum*); and the latter, the relinquishing of a thing which one has a right to claim. *Judgment*, therefore (in as far as it is an act of examination), is here not excluded; this the Scriptures everywhere *require* (1 Thess. v. 21). Only the confounding of the evil with personal demerit, in him in whom it manifests itself, is that which merciful love everywhere disallows; wherever the imputation is cast on the person, love will be found to be wanting; wherever love is wanting, the rigorous law prevails, and with this law the *jus talionis*, "law of retaliation." Hence, it becomes a repetition of the idea expressed in v. 7, ἐλεήμονες ἐλεηθήσονται, "the merciful shall obtain mercy." The phrase, ἐν ᾧ μέτρεω μετρεῖται, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῶν, which signifies literally, "with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," is = ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ, "an eye for an eye" (St Matth. v. 38). The figure in St Luke vi. 38 depicts the nature of that overflowing, forgiving love, which in its turn renders man susceptible of forgiveness. (Μέτρον καλόν, "good measure" = ἱκανόν, "sufficient, satisfactory," signifies, just and not false measure; πίῳ, "to press, or to press together;" σαλεύω, "to move to and fro, and shake," in order to force into the measure as much as possible; ὑπερχύνομαι = ὑπερῶ, Joel ii. 24, to fill to overflowing, to cause to run over, which are all used as contrasts to that giving which is void of love, which is only practised, in order not to transgress, or offend against the law in a direct manner.—Κόλπος = ὤφρυς, *sinus*, "the bosom," also the bosom of a garment folded over for the purpose of carrying things therein.¹ In the Old Testament fre-

¹ The use of the long flowing garment here alluded to seems to have been common to all the nations of the east, and probably, among the Jews, Arabs, and others, who wore their long dresses belted round the waist with a sash or girdle, the actual bosom or upper portion of the dress was pretty generally made use of as a receptacle for provisions or other necessary articles, as it might well be allowed to fall in copious folds out over the belt, so as to form a large pocket-like receptacle capable of containing a considerable quantity of anything. This explains the passage of Luke vi. 38, δώσουσιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὑμῶν, which the Vulgate renders: *dabunt in sinum vestrum*, "they shall give into your bosom." Κόλπος and *sinus* are, however, applied not only to the bosom of a garment, but they are used for any cavity or hollow formed by the folding back or doubling of a garment, and may therefore be translated a *lap*.

quently the figure for "retaliation, requital," is *ἀνταποδοῦναι εἰς τὸν κόλπον*, "to render back into the bosom" [Jerem. xxxii. 18; Ps. lxxix. 12].

Ver. 3—5. What follows treats of this idea in its separate relation to the individual, which has been hitherto viewed in its relation to the whole personality of man. He who is without love perceives faults in others, at the same time that he overlooks his own; but pure love overlooks the faults of others, and watches carefully and rigorously its own. The same figure is to be found in the treatise called *Baba bathra*.¹ Cum diceret quis alicui, ejice festucam ex oculo tuo, respondit ille: ejice et tu trabem ex oculo tuo, "If a man say to any one, cast out the splinter from thine eye, he straightway answereth, do thou also cast out the beam from thine own eye."

Ver. 6. With this exhortation to exercise meekness is very judiciously connected the invitation to guard ourselves against the other extreme, namely, against an indiscreet pouring out of that which is sacred, from want of judgment. He who forbids to judge (in cases which are to determine the *culpability* of a human being), the same person in like manner commands *examination and inquiry*, whereby the *state of the cases or circumstances* may be determined. This latter procedure is absolutely necessary for the child of God, in order that he may be able to discriminate

Thus Livy: Tunc Romanus, *sinu ex toga facto*, &c., "Then the Roman having folded back his garment," which has been finely imitated by Tasso in his description of the haughty Circassian Prince Argante, when in his defiance to Godfrey and the Christian leaders of the first crusade, he makes use of the same expression:

Inde il suo manto per lo lembo prese
Curvollo, e fenne un *seno*, e'l *seno* sporto,
Così pur anco a ragionar riprese,
Via più che prima dispettoso, e torto.
O sprezzator de le più dubbie imprese,
E guerra, e pace in questo *sen* t'apporto
Tua sia l'elezione, hor te consiglia,
Senz' altro indugio, e qual più vuoi ti piglia.

—Gierus. Lib. Cant. ii. st. 89.—T.

¹ *Baba Bathra*, or more properly *Bava Bathra*, בְּבֵית בְּתָרָא, "The last door or entrance," is one of the treatises or books of the Talmud, and forms the third book of the fourth *Seder*, i.e. order, called *Nerikin*, נְרוּקִין, "Damages," which is divided into ten books, and treats of all cases of injury inflicted by man or beast, and the compensation to be awarded in such cases; also of Jewish courts of law, and their various punishments, of idolatry, and of the prophecies concerning the Messiah. —T.

between what is true and what is false. (Κύνες, "dogs," χοῖροι, "swine," are used to depict vulgar human nature, which expresses itself in shamelessness, carnality, and voluptuousness; these the Christian must learn to distinguish as such, and bring that which is holy into no sort of contact with them,¹ for the internal state of their nature admits of no reception for such things, and is therefore likely to turn upon him to his own injury. [Ἅγιον, "holy, pure," μαργαρίται, "pearls," signify the holy doctrines of the kingdom of God, Matth. xiii. 45.] To such men the law only can be applied; they misunderstand the Gospel to the injury of those who preach it to them. In doggish natures, that which is holy engenders wrath; hoggish natures tread it down thoughtlessly into the mire, which is their own true element.)

Ver. 7—12. In order to lead such a life of love which does not judge, but which, nevertheless, carefully examines, it is necessary to pray for the gift of the Holy Spirit. The general precept, αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, "ask and it shall be given to you," which is repeated with various applications, is illustrated by means of a simile, which draws a conclusion *a minori ad majus*, "ascending from small things to great." Ver. 8, demonstrates, ver. 7, by means of the general idea, πᾶς ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει, signifying literally, "every one who is asking receiveth." The demonstrating point is contained in the nature of him who is called upon in prayer; every supplication, truly so (hence, which has originated with the internal necessity of the spirit), is granted by God. The human relation existing between the father and the imploring child forms an argument, κατ' ἀνθρώπου, "the argumentum ad hominem." Luke adds, xi. 12, a third example to the other two, "instead of an ὄν, "egg;" a σκορπίος, "scorpion." With the notion of the useless here is connected, moreover, that of the repulsive.—The transition, ἢ τίς ἰστὶν; "or is there any one?" brings out the contrast; or does it not always happen otherwise? Men, in their sinful alienation, appear towards God, the

¹ Tholuck (on the passage in question, p. 492) thinks that the Gospel ought to be preached even to the most reprobate. By all means, as regards public preaching, at which an examination into the position of solitary individuals cannot take place. But the question at issue is: personal ministry with regard to individuals, exactly as with the prohibition to judge, and in such case the intelligent and wise steward must produce from the treasure of his heart things old and new, according to the position or state of the person, with whom he has to deal.

everlasting God, as *πονηροί*, "evil doers;" but, in the relation of parental love, goodness is nevertheless manifested even in the sinful one, how much more, then, in the everlasting God. St Luke xi. 13 names in express terms the gift which comprehends all the other gifts, *πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, "the Holy Ghost," which must here be regarded as the principle which creates holiness in man. Possessed of this spirit, man practises pure love. The normal precept, ver. 12, is also founded on proverbs propagated among the Jewish nation. The Talmud gives the following as the decision of Rabbi Hillel:¹ *Quod exosum est tibi, alteri ne feceris*, "That which is hateful to yourself do not to others." Self-love is to serve as the rule for the self-sacrificing love of our neighbour (Matth. xix. 19); God alone is to be loved above *self*. For *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ νόμος*, "this is the law," as *Griesbach* reads it, *Fritzsche* would have us read *οὕτως*, "thus;" but *οὗτος*, independent of the critical reasons, might deserve to be preferred on account of the deeper idea it implies, inasmuch as therein is expressed, that in this commandment of love towards our neighbour, the *essential* contents of the Old Testament are comprehended (Mark xii. 29 sqq.; Matth. xxii. 40).

Ver. 13, 14. From what has been said follows, in a natural and unforced connection, the difficulty of walking in the path of self-denying love, which is represented under the figure of a narrow way, leading through a straight gate into the strong for-

¹ Rabbi HILLEL, called Hazaken "the elder," and also Babylonian "the Babylonian," to distinguish him from his celebrated descendant, *R. Hillel Hannassi*, "the prince or chief," was a very celebrated Jewish doctor of the tribe of Benjamin, and descended on his mother's side in a direct line from King David, although his parents were living in great poverty; he was born in Babylon, A.M. 3648, i.e. 112 years before the birth of our Saviour. He was the progenitor of a most illustrious race, who presided over the college of Babylon for ten generations; he was the father of that Simeon whose prerogative it was to receive our Lord in his arms in the temple, who is called in the *Talmud* Rabban Simeon, "our master Simeon," and who was himself the father of Rabban Gamaliel, the preceptor of the Apostle Paul. R. Hillel is much quoted in the *Talmud*, the writers of which look on him as a prophet. In the book called *Sopherim*, סופרים, "scribes, or learned men," it is said of him: "There is no word of wisdom which he had not mastered; he had learned all kind of languages, even the tongues of the mountains, the hills, and the valleys, the speech of trees and herbs, the converse of wild beasts and cattle, the language of spirits, and all parables." And wherefore? Because the Lord willed it, for his righteousness sake he will magnify the law, and make it honourable, Is. xlii: 21.—T.

treas of everlasting life. The figure is so natural, so true, that it is made manifest over and over again in every serious endeavour, even as regards the subordinate degrees of religious life. Cebetis tab. c. 12, οὐκοῦν ὁρᾷς θύραν τινὰ μικράν, καὶ ὁδὸν τινὰ πρὸς τῆς θύρας, ἥτις οὐ πολὺ ὀχλεῖται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὀλίγοι πορεύονται, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς, ἡ ἀγούσα πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν παιδείαν, the literal meaning of which is, "behold then a certain small door, and a certain road to the door, which is not much frequented; but very few travel by it, that is the road which leads to true instruction." (The parallel passage in St Luke xiii. 24, will hereafter receive its special exposition. For *ὅτι*, "because," of ver. 14 should be read, no doubt, *τί*, "for why?" it corresponds with the Hebrew *למה*.)

Ver. 15—20. But not only is the way of the pure life in God narrow of itself, but it is rendered very toilsome through what the false prophets teach; the question here at issue, then, is to try the spirits. As a sign whereby to know them, is given the *fruit* they bear; in 1 John iv. 1, 2, pure doctrine is laid down as the criterion. Is the latter here indicated likewise by the expression, *καρποί*, "fruits?" I doubt it, although *Tholuck* has defended this view on plausible grounds. The doctrines must first be received; hence, they might be compared with the root, but not with the fruit. The fruits are necessarily of a moral nature. Under any circumstances it is difficult to distinguish between the real fruits and the counterfeittings of hypocrisy and fanaticism; but our Redeemer presupposes in those belonging to him plain common sense, for the perception of truth, which permits them safely to distinguish between that which is true and that which is false. The term *ἐνδύματα προβάτων*, "the clothing of sheep," must not be understood as implying, or referring to the actual clothing of the prophets (Matt. iii. 4); but it denotes figuratively the outward appearance in contrast to the true nature, the ap-

¹ The Hebrew interrogatives, *מי*, "who?" and *למה*, "what? how much? how great?" &c., are rendered in the Septuagint by the Greek interrogatives *τίς*; and *τί*; which are in a general way distinguished from the indefinite pronouns *τις*, *τι*, by the *acute* accent, the latter being written, for the most part, without an accent. The author here, however, alludes to the adverbial use of the Hebrew *למה*, to which the *τί*; absolute, of the Greeks forms the exact equivalent, in which case it means "for why? wherefore?" See Homer's *Il. B. i.* 362, 414, &c. This gives more force than *ὅτι*, "because," to the *ὁραὴν ἢ πύλιν*, "straight is the gate," of the text.—T.

parently affectionate expressions and actions, which have their origin, nevertheless, in hearts full of self-love. The wolfish nature only seeks its own advantage, and soon betrays itself to the child-like mind. By the physical processes in the vegetable world is demonstrated, how fruit characterises, i.e. points out the nature of the plant producing it. Similar to this is the figure in James iii. 11, 12. (Ἀκανθὰ, thorn. Virg. Eccl. iv. 29, incutisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva, "and the purple grape shall hang on the wild thorn."—Comp. Matth. xii. 33, where the same figure is made use of, though in somewhat different terms, as also in St Luke vi. 43, 44, which passage will be furnished with its due exposition. On ver. 19, 20, comp. on Matth. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.)

Ver. 21—23. These verses carry out that which has been predicated in a general way of all ψευδοπροφηταί, "false prophets," more especially with a view to those who were attached to Christ, among whom also insincerity might creep in. The term λέγειν, "to say," forms a contrast with ποιεῖν, "to do," just as λόγος, "word," forms a contrast with ἔργον, "work," or δύναμις, "power, ability" (1 John iii. 18; Col. ii. 23; 1 Thess. i. 5; James i. 22). Λέγειν κύριε, κύριε, "to say, Lord, Lord," signifies to express hypocritically a sense of dependence, which is not felt in reality. According to ver. 22, spiritual vanity appears as the ground of this adhesion, which finds its food in the brilliant outward manifestations of the power of the Spirit, which, with the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, was poured out even on a Judas Iscariot. Προφητεύειν, "to act as a prophet, i.e. to prophesy," δαίμονια ἐκβάλλειν, "to cast, or drive out demons," δυνάμεις ποιεῖν, "to do mighty works," are the most usual effects produced by the power of the Spirit, that bestirred itself with so much might at the time of Jesus, the nature of which will be considered hereafter in its isolated manifestations.¹ In the passage, τῷ σὺ ὀνόματι, "in thy name," must not be seen a mere superstitious naming of the name, as was the case with the sons of Sceva (Acts of the Apostles xix. 13 sqq.); but a reception of the power of the Lord into the individual, though in an insincere manner. (Concerning ὄνομα, see on Luke i. 49, and hereafter on Matth. x. 41; xxviii. 19.) By the passage, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, "in that day," is put off the disclosure of the hypocrisy which is now

¹ Concerning these spiritual gifts of free grace, "Charismata," compare here the context with 1 Cor. xii. 14.

undiscernible to the human eye, until the time of the general κρίσις, "judgment," when all the secrets of men shall be revealed (Rom. ii. 16). Hence, hypocrisy here appears at the same time in the light of self-delusion, according to which man persuades himself he belongs to the Lord, until the unfolding of the depths of all hearts shall bring him to a knowledge, that his pretended holy actions were but a great ἀνομία, "transgressions," inasmuch as his sole object was his own honour, and not that of God. For the rest, that a bandying of words on the day of judgment is out of the question, must be understood as a matter of course. The situation depicted here in such lively colours, is the *language of the internal being*; the unbeliever will stand there claiming to be heard, but he shall find no ear, i.e. he shall be rejected. (The words ἀποχωρεῖτε κ. τ. λ., "depart ye," &c., are quoted from Ps. vi. 8). The solution of this psychological enigma, of the possibility of such self-delusion in divine matters, is contained in the words, οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς, "I never knew ye," of ver. 23. The term γινώσκειν, "to know," like γινώσκω, "to know, to recognise," is used throughout the Holy Scripture in a deep, spiritual sense, especially in such phrases as, Θεός, χριστός γινώσκει ἄνθρωπον, ψυχὴν, God, Christ knoweth or approveth, the man, the soul (Deut. xxxiv. 10; 1 Cor. viii. 3; xiii. 12; Gal. iv. 9). Γινώσκειν τὸν Θεόν, "to know God," forms the natural consequence of the γινώσκουσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the being known or approved by God;" no one can know God without being recognised by God. If we refer these expressions to their obvious connection with the Christian doctrine of regeneration, the result will be the full rich meaning of this contrast. The real knowledge of God (not one merely *comprehending* his existence, but an *essential one*, which is even the life eternal, John xvii. 3) is only possible in consequence of a revelation of the hidden, or invisible God, to the soul (see on Matth. xi. 27); this revelation of God is a γινώσκειν τὴν ψυχὴν, "recognising or approving of the soul." The figure of a bridal relation of the soul to God, which pervades the language used throughout the whole of the sacred writings, obtains, according to this view, its essential signification. This internal illumination resembles the visit of the heavenly bridegroom, the result of which is the knowledge or recognition of God by the soul, according to the decision of the Old Testament; in his light we see light (Ps. xxxvi. 10). Hence, the Lord-Lord-sayers (i.e. those who merely *say* Lord, Lord) appear in

the light of unregenerate men, who carry themselves in a region of false freedom as the children of God, without having been generated of him. Very significantly, therefore, is given in Luke xiii. 25 the question *ποθεν ἐστέ*; "whence are ye?" It refers to their foreign origin; they have not originated above (*ἀνωθεν*, "from above," John iii. 3), they are *σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός*, "flesh of the flesh" (John iii. 6.) (In St Luke xiii. 25, 27, moreover, even the elements of this passage stand in a different connection to one another; in which connection they will be examined hereafter.)

Ver. 24—27. The *epilogue* teaches the importance of the application of such a discourse under the simile of a man who builds his house upon a rock; the Word of everlasting truth, which, having become incarnate, taught in the person of Christ, is here intimated as the rock of salvation (Deut. xxxii. 15; Ps. xviii. 3; xlii. 10; Isa. xvii. 10). Here the wicked forms no contrast with the good, but the *fool* with the *wise* (as Matth. xxv. 1 sqq.) for, all those who hear are conceived as well-wishers, but many are wanting in the spiritual wisdom so necessary in order to derive spiritual advantage. The figure of the building is carried out in 1 Cor. iii. 9 sqq., and it is there, v. 11, wherein Christ is called the foundation, on which must rest the building of the spiritual life. St Luke vi. 48 carries out further the figure of laying the foundation by digging and deepening. (*Βεροχή* signifies a mighty or heavy shower of rain = *βροχή*. St Luke has it *πλήμυρα* = *πλημμυρίς* ἅ. λ., signifying the tide, the flood-tide, which is the reverse of *ἀμπωτίς*, or *ἀνάβροτα*, the ebb. In the more common sense than the one in which it is here used, it signifies every inundating, destructive overflowing of streams or brooks, as well as that caused by violent showers of rain.

Ver. 26. The contrast to this building on the foundation of the rock of the everlasting word of God, which defies every danger and temptation, is formed by the simile of a building void of foundation, and which is built on the sand, to signify, or denote that internal life which is founded on perishable, human resolutions, opinions, and ideas. This building upon sand has an evident reference to a spiritual activity, which is nearly related to the real labours of the spirit, such as are created by faith, but which is, nevertheless, void of the true character thereof.

Ver. 28, 29. The Evangelist, finally, concludes the whole with

a reference to v. 1. St Matthew, in conclusion, only adds the impression which the words of Jesus produced upon the mind of his hearers. The expression *ἐκπλήττισταί*, "to be astonished, to be amazed," is stronger than *θαυμάζειν*, "to wonder;" it expresses the sense of being inwardly impressed (*Das innere Erfasst=, Ergriffenseyn*). To this points the passage, *ἰξουσίαν ἔχουσιν*, "having authority," which distinguished the discourses of Jesus from those of the Pharisees; these also frequently spoke truths, but they wanted the *ἰξουσία πνευματική*, "spiritual authority;" their discourses were pictures painted on the air, without being possessed of any essential and life-bestowing power. These the words of Jesus breathed forth, and by means of them he laid hold upon the hearts of his hearers in their innermost depths; hence, wherever there was dormant in the interior of any person an echo for truth, there this echo was necessarily awakened.

§ 4. HEALING OF A LEPER.

(Matth. viii. 1—4; Mark i. 40—45; Luke v. 12—16.)

After this manifestation of Jesus as an instructor, St Matthew now follows it up with his portraiture of the Saviour as a *worker of miracles*, inasmuch as both the chapters which follow only contain communications respecting the miracles of our Redeemer. In so far as actions such as these are viewed as being preeminently the revelations or manifestations of mighty powers, they are called in the Scriptures *δυνάμεις*, "powers," *גְּבוּרוֹת*, "mighty works." But when the same are to be regarded as connected with the Divine decrees in reference to the individual or to the whole, the Scriptures then call them *σημεῖα*, *אֵיזוֹת*, "signs." As events or occurrences creating astonishment, amazement, or terror, they are called *τίγαρα*, "wonders," *θαυμάσια*, "miracles" (Matth. xxi. 15), *מִפְתִּיִּם*, *נִסִּיִּם*, "miracles, wondrous works." The most significant expression for them, made use of when speaking of the miracles of our Lord, is *ἔργα*, "works" (Matth. xi. 2, also very frequently used in the Gospel of St John). By this expression the wonderful is described as the natural form of the ministry of our Redeemer, inasmuch as he, imbued with Divine powers, must of necessity therewith produce supernatural

phenomena. *He was himself* the *τίμας*, "wonder," and his wondrous deeds the natural *ἔργα*, "works," of his essential being or existence (seines Wesens). From this it appears clearly that we cannot here adopt those notions or views of a miracle, according to which the same is regarded as a suspension of the laws of nature. If we proceed according to the view held by the Bible of the omnipresent diffusion (Immanenz) of God throughout the universe, the laws of nature, in that case, will not admit of being regarded as ruled by fixed mechanical laws, which might be arrested or disturbed by an extraneous application of power, but they appear in their collective totality as resting or reposing on the essential nature of God. All phenomena, therefore, that cannot be explained according to the known or unknown laws of terrestrial life-development, must not be regarded, on this account, as reversing or as suspending the laws of nature; on the contrary, they themselves are comprehended in the higher laws which regulate the whole, inasmuch as that which is Divine is that which itself controls the laws of nature. That which is in contradiction to nature is the *ungodly*; the true supernatural is but a higher order of the natural. Nevertheless, we must admit that the ground-work of miracles is not to be sought for in the cycle of created things; this must rather be sought for in the immediate act of God. To the creature every act of God is a miracle, although, when considered in relation to the Divine Being, it is pure law and order. Hence, with the believer everything apparently natural, as, for example, the preservation of the world, the growth of all its formations and productions, is miraculous, because he is accustomed to reduce all things to their first principle. *No miracle, therefore, is performed without there being a real power.* When, therefore, we see, especially in the New Testament, human persons performing miraculous actions, we are led to conclude that higher powers have been communicated to men, who, exercising a sway over those around them far and near, may produce certain effects. Without the assumption of the presence of such a real element of power (of the *πνεῦμα*, "spirit," in his *χαρίσματα*, "miraculous gifts," 1 Cor. xii. 10), there would be no medium between the miraculous deed and the worker of miracles, and the former hence would appear, as it were, a mere apparition. As analogous to the presence of such a higher element of power in a human individual, may always be regarded animal

magnetism; but we must be on our guard not to confound this mysterious, dangerous power of the sensual principle of life with the pure element of light, which dwelt, as is related in the Bible, in the holy men of God; the latter is God's nature that dwelt in them, whereas the former power is of the creature clouded by sin. But if the fulness of spiritual power in the great men of the church of a subsequent period was not combined with the gift of performing external miracles, the cause must be sought for in the process of the development of the human race, and in the peculiar requirements of the times, which only from time to time present moments when the church has appeared again to put forth blossoms which have called forth extraordinary phenomena of this kind, leaving an echo for a time that gradually again dies away.

It is a highly important fact that the sacred writings consider not only the Divine power as the cause of miracles, but that they represent also the evil power as such.¹ There are two series of miracles to be found interspersed throughout the Biblical history. As the acts of the Egyptian magicians form the contrast to the miracles of Moses (Exod. vii. sqq.), so in like manner, in the New Testament, do the miracles of the anti-Christ appear in contrast with those of the Redeemer (Matth. xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 8, 9; Revel. xiii. 15). This distinction between Divine and devilish miracles leads us to the decision that the object of miracles cannot possibly be *to confirm the truth of any affirmation*. According to the sense of the Scriptures, this is, in truth, by no means the destination of miracles. It was only the people that regarded it as such, inasmuch as they were guided in their judgment and decision by the impression of power in its action on the outward senses; hence it happened that they were as much and even more attached to the false prophets than they were to the true ones, and our Redeemer, therefore, severely rebukes this sensual mania for wonders (John iv. 48). When, however, we see from other passages (as, for example, John x. 25; xiv. 10, 11) that our Lord requires a belief in his works, and when we behold him, moreover, connecting them with his dignity and his sacred calling, this does not take place in order that he may confirm through them the truth of his assertions;

¹ In so far as evil in general is the result of created powers, we may say that the miracles of the devil are merely illusory miracles; real miracles can be performed by God's omnipotence only.

the truth, on the contrary, makes known itself as such, and in a manner which cannot be gainsaid, to him who is susceptible thereof, by its internal nature. (Every one that is of the truth, hearkens to the voice of truth, John xviii. 37). They rather served then to *prove his character of a divine ambassador* to all those in whom the impression of truth, as expressed in the nature and word of our Redeemer, had produced its effect. For, the announcement of truths may be conceived, indeed, without the proclaimer of them being endued with the character of an ambassador of God. In such a case the truth may have a great predominance over error in word and efficacy; but the latter cannot possibly be conceived as altogether excluded in any mere human teacher. In order, therefore, to distinguish them from teachers excelling by mere human intellect, God endows particular persons with supernatural powers, and makes them his instruments, in order to invest them with legitimate authority before men, *as unerring instruments of the Divine Spirit, as teachers of the absolute truth itself*. The gift of performing miracles, therefore, belongs to the other necessary prerogatives of the true prophets, which serve to bear witness to their exalted character, to prove that they were to be regarded as guides and teachers of the people, free from *all possibility of error*. And hence it is that in miracles *faith* is always pre-supposed, that is, the receptivity for that which is divine; and it is only the *combination* of truth with the testimony produced by miracles which constitutes the character of a divine ambassador, by whose power things may be attested as being true and certain, which cannot be recognised as such through the indwelling susceptibility of truth. The reverse is the case with the representatives of the kingdom of darkness, whom the Holy Scripture calls *ψευδοπροφήται*, "false prophets," *ψευδοχριστοί*, "false Christs, i.e. pretended Messiahs," because of the apparent external relation existing between them, notwithstanding a total internal discrepancy, and the true messengers of God. Though these representatives of falsehood should mingle even much that is true both in word and deed, and even strive to appear as the messengers of light, still, the whole spirit of their ministry announces itself to the pure mind, susceptible of truth, as unholy, and all the miracles imaginable cannot move this mind to deliver itself up to them; on the contrary, this combination of the power to work miracles with the unholy spirit, only affords to him a proof of their close connection

with the kingdom of darkness. Hence, if the Redeemer reproves this mania for miracles, he therein corrects the looking to that which is external, which bears witness to the deadness existing with regard to that which is spiritual, and which exposes to the danger of doing homage to the agencies of the evil one, if they appear coupled with wondrous phenomena. But then, on the contrary, our Lord praises the desire to behold miracles as the testimony to the internal conviction that he, whose truth and purity of ministry has already touched the heart, is more than a human teacher—that he is a heavenly accredited ambassador of God. The power of working miracles, and every individual outward manifestation thereof, is, therefore, in itself without significance; this depends upon its connection with the whole course of action of him in whom it reveals itself. The *combination* of miracles with that which is holy, is the exalted testimony borne by God to his servants; the *combination* of miracles with that which is unholy, is the awe-exciting means of warning the believer of the ambassador of the abyss; the recognition of what is holy and unholy is presupposed, in order to be able to perceive and judge of the nature of miracles, and the conditions of this recognition are internal sincerity and purity of mind. The impure person persuades himself that the true miracles of God may be performed by the evil spirit, and regards the false ones in the light of true ones; but the pure mind considers both in their true nature and form, because he bears within him the rule and standard of truth.

Casting a glance at the *history* of miracles, we shall find in the first place no miracles performed *previous to* Moses through the medium of a human person, for the miracles of God, his revelations of himself in the Son and in angels, and such like, must be carefully distinguished from those in which the gift of working miracles appears in connection with a human person. It seems as though a mature state of the human nature was required in order to serve as the bearer or supporter of this mighty spiritual power. Hence, it was that Jesus performed no miracles while yet a child; and the apocryphal writings of the New Testament betray their unspiritual character, among other things, also in this, that they make the child Jesus to perform miracles. And then we observe, in the second place, after *the time* of Moses, a difference between the miracles of the Old and those of the New Testament. The miracles of the Old Testament bear not only

a more colossal character, but this character is more of an *external* kind; they are more calculated to lay hold upon the lower powers of the soul, more especially the imagination. The miracles of the New Testament betray a more spiritual character: in them we perceive more distinctly a bearing on the moral world. We find the Redeemer bringing into practice in his miracles more especially those maxims that verified themselves in his temptation: he never performed miracles for effect, never for himself and for his own advantage. It was the Father alone who performed miracles on him, for his disciples in a narrower circle, (the transfiguration), and in a wider one (the resurrection) for the confirmation of their faith. Jesus applied the fulness of Divine power and Divine love that dwelt in him in humble retirement, in order to comfort the unhappy, and to free them from the source of their sufferings, and in order to destroy, in this sense, the works of the devil, and to lay the foundation of the kingdom of God, inasmuch as our Lord always knew how to apply his external aid as a direct spiritual remedy. The wondrous cures of Jesus more especially must be regarded as physico-moral occurrences, in which the Divine fulness of life passed over to individuals susceptible thereof, in order to demonstrate, in conjunction with the organic harmony of active life, the possibility of a spiritual life harmonizing therewith. Besides, the cures effected by Jesus differed from those of his disciples in so far as our Redeemer performed them in his own name, by means of the perfection of power that dwelt within him. The disciples, on the contrary, performed cures only in the name of Jesus, by his power, as his instruments. Hence, faith was to them as much the medium for acquiring the wondrous power as it was for others the medium of effecting their cure; and in this acquisition bestowed by faith we find them as engaged in a gradual development (Matth. x. 1, 8, xvii. 19 sqq.) The gift of performing miracles lasted for some time yet after the decease of the apostles, until the foundation of the church had been completed, when it gradually disappeared out of the world. With the Holy Ghost there, however, remained behind the internal miracles of regeneration, sanctification, and the granting of prayers, which are greater than the external. These external gifts of working miracles shall reveal themselves once more in the latter days, when the position of the church shall render necessary the sending forth of new prophets. The view held by the Roman

Catholic Church concerning the necessity of an uninterrupted duration of the gift of working miracles, is based upon the confusion of internal with external miracles; without the latter indeed the church cannot be considered as existing, inasmuch as God, whose every action is a miracle, dwells in her.

Matth. viii. 1. With regard, then, to the history of the earliest cures, as related by St Matthew, the connection thereof with any exact chronological period is undetermined. (Comp. Matth. viii. 1, 5, with Luke v. 11, 16, 17). But since, according to St Luke, (vii. 1). Christ, after the sermon on the mount, healed the servant of the centurion, an event recorded likewise by St Matthew, (viii. 5 sqq.); hence the position of this event, as stated by St Matthew, may be chronologically correct, and the cure of the leper may have been effected on the way to Capernaum soon after the sermon on the mount, (Luke v. 12 says: ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, "in one of the cities.") The narrative commences with the remark, that the Saviour, immediately on his descending from the mountain, was followed by great multitudes who came to be healed, among whom there came likewise a leper. (The passage καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, "to descend from the mountain," refers back to Matth. v. 1. What is remarkable in the construction is the repeated use of the term αὐτῷ, to "him," which soon after appears again in the same chapter, ver. 5, 23, 28, and also frequently throughout St Matthew. The first αὐτῷ, in connexion with καταβαίνειν, "descending," seems to present itself as a *dativus absolutus*. In this acceptation must be explained likewise the reading: καταβάντος αὐτοῦ, "he having descended," which is a correction of the more unusual dative case.)

Ver. 2. With regard to the λέπρα, "leprosy," it must be observed, that this disease made its appearance in various, sometimes in more dangerous, and sometimes in milder forms. The instructions given by Moses (Lev. chap. xiii. xiv.) leave no doubt as to the characteristics of the לֵפְרָא, "leprosy." Any man afflicted with the dangerous leprosy (for information on this head comp. *Winer's Realwörterbuch*, sub verb.) was regarded, according to the Mosaic law, as unclean, and could not be received again into communion unless he could prove his recovery. The leper spoken of in the narrative of St Matthew might have heard beforehand of the cures effected by Christ, or he might have even witnessed them; suffice it to say, he manifests his πίστις,

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"faith," in the person of Jesus by his prostrating himself, and by an express supplication to be cured, a cure which he presupposes as practicable for him through the power of Jesus. (The *προσκυνεῖν*, "to prostrate one's self," here is = to the *γονυπετεῖν*, "the falling on the knees," of St Mark, which is = to the *πρὸς ὤμον ἐπὶ πρόσωπον*, "falling on the face," of St Luke, and which corresponds with the Hebrew *הִשְׁתַּחוּ*, "to bow down, to prostrate one's self reverently or in homage.") It is the common manner or gesture of salutation, and doing homage, peculiar to the east, and has in itself no reference whatever to religious worship. But with regard to the *nature of the faith*,¹ which we must presuppose in the person here healed, as, indeed, in all similar cases, (comp. on Matth. xiii. 58), it must be observed, in the first place, that *πίστις*, "faith," when taken in a religious sense, has everywhere one and the same fundamental signification; this is modified only according to the various objects of faith, which in their turn are conditioned by the degrees of its development. As to the nature of faith, we cannot regard it as a mere *recognition* either of divine things in general in the sense of the Old Testament, or of the divine nature as revealed in Christ which is peculiar to the New Testament. For such a mere knowledge, or recognition, no matter whether confused or clear in its notions, must be conceived as in connection with a condition of the inward man, which we must acknowledge to be one in contrast with that of the true believer. Faith, on the contrary, is based on a spiritual *receptivity* for divine things (and this too in the soul [*καρδία*, "the heart," comp. Rom. x. 9, 10], whereas the susceptibility for divine things in the *νοῦς*, "mind," conditions knowledge [*γνώσις*]), and is itself, according to its degrees of manifestation, capable of an internal gradation. For instance, in the cures, in which the *πίστις*, "faith," appears as the negative requisite, which conditions the faculty of receiving the benefit of the spiritual power emanating from Christ, there is to be perceived in the required or offered *πίστις*, no taking for granted of certain doctrines, but a spiritual-corporeal receptivity for the ministrations of the Redeemer. This was always accompanied, without doubt, by the conviction that Christ was the Messiah, and that he, being the Messiah, could work miracles; but these

¹ Compare hereon the remarks on Romans iii. 21, p. 140 sqq.

convictions we may conceive as being independent of those fundamental dispositions of the *καρδία*, which we have before indicated as the receptivity of the mind and of the whole being for heavenly things, and in this state of separation they would represent no conditional grounds for the miraculous cure.¹ The narratives of all the histories of cures effected by Jesus lead to this conclusion. He nowhere asks for established doctrines as the object of faith; he nowhere mentions such as the necessarily required proof of it; the Redeemer allows the mere confession of faith to avouch for its character, inasmuch as the nature and the word (*Wesen und Wort*) at once revealed the entire disposition of the inward man as one open to, or closed against, Divine influences. Hereby, then, it appears clear that the external corporeal healing was only to be received as a symbol of the *internal spiritual healing* therein aimed at (comp. on John vii. 23). For the same life-giving powers, through the communication of which corporeal disorganisation is abrogated, affected in accordance with their nature, the spiritual world of the person healed; they placed him in a real bond of communion with the world of righteousness, and established him on the ground which he now occupied, in order to lead him further on.

Ver. 3. At the request of the sick person, our Lord put forth his hand, touched him, and made him whole. Such actual touching is set forth in most cases of the cures worked by Jesus, and to perceive, in this laying on of his hand (as in the act of blessing by the solemn *ἐπιθεσις τῶν χειρῶν*, "laying on of hands"), a medium (though not a necessary one) for conducting the healing powers need arouse no scruple. The analogy of animal magnetism here intrudes itself upon the mind, and there can be no doubt that it is not the result of mere accident, only we must never forget, as has been already observed above, that the power of Jesus Christ was a Divine power, and hence that magnetism can in every instance be used only in order to indicate a power which produces in the lower region of existence phenomena of a somewhat similar character. (*καθαρίζει* = *קָדַשׁ*, "to make clean, to cleanse," may signify: to *declare or pronounce a person to be clean*, that is, in so far as the priest who pronounced the sick

¹ In a very admirable manner does the spiritually-minded mystics Gerhard Tersteegen (*Weg der Wahrheit*, p. 366), designate faith as "the inwardly-hungering spiritual desire which embraces not only the form, but likewise the *essential nature* (*das Wesen*) of Divine things."

person clean, restored him to uninterrupted communion. [Comp. Levit. xiii. 13, 17, according to the Septuagint.] But that it is the actual and instantaneous removal of the disease which here is in question, is evident from the passage εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν ἡ λέπρα, which signifies literally: "the leprosy went away immediately," [Mark i. 42], which gives the explanation of ἰκαδαρίσθη, "was cleansed." The combination of ἰκαδαρίσθη, "he was cleansed," with λέπρα αὐτοῦ, "his leprosy," according to St Matthew, requires the verb to involve the sense of removal.)

Ver. 4. To this cure was joined, according to the unanimous records thereof, the command of our Lord to tell no man anything respecting this occurrence. Similar interdictions are frequently found in the Gospel history. (Comp. Matth. ix. 30; xii. 16; xvi. 20; xvii. 9; Mark iii. 12; v. 43; vii. 36; viii. 26, 30; ix. 9; Luke viii. 56; ix. 21.) The reasons which induced our Redeemer to give such commands were, no doubt, of various kinds. Sometimes he no doubt wished to prevent thereby popular tumults, with a view to make him the Messianic king; at another time he might wish to withdraw the minds of the people from these events, and to prevent them from showing him external honours, or, as *Luther* says, in order to set an example of humility. But the healing Saviour may have likewise frequently forbidden such communication for the sake of those that were healed. Namely, whenever these persons were tempted to divert their minds by application to external affairs, the design of Jesus might have been to induce them thereby to a serious self-examination and internal reflection. That such was the motive which guided him from time to time, appears particularly probable from the circumstance that we meet likewise with opposite cases, wherein our Lord encourages to an open declaration of those things which God had performed by him. (Comp. Mark v. 19). Such, namely, appears to have been the case with all those persons who, shut in by nature, and lost in a state of false self-contemplation, required to be led into the sphere of external activity, in order that their internal life might thrive and improve therein. The last reference here brought forward affords an insight into the profound nature and wisdom of our Lord's teaching, who knew how to treat every one according to his necessities. Hence, it would suit this case, according to St Matthew, very well to look to the person restored for the reason of this prohibition, because the act of healing was performed in the presence of many persons, and yet

the command to say nothing about it was addressed to the leper only. St Mark, it is true, has related nothing of the assembled multitudes, and, according to *his* representation, it is more probable that the object of this prohibition was to prevent popular tumult. For he records (i. 45) that the leper, notwithstanding the command of our Lord, busily (St Mark frequently uses the term *πολλά* in the sense of strong, zealous, warm; comp. iii. 12, v. 23, xv. 3) spread abroad the miracle, and that thereby such commotions were produced: *ὥστε μηκέτι αὐτὸν δύνασθαι φανερῶς εἰς πόλιν εἰσελθεῖν*, the literal meaning of which is, "so that he was no longer able to enter into the city openly," that is to say, without offering some food for the carnal expectations of the multitude concerning the Messiah. St Mark has perhaps added (i. 43) *καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθὺς ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν*, "and strictly charging him, he immediately dismissed him," in order to heighten the power of this prohibition. (*Ἐμβριμάομαι* here signifies, as in Matth. xi. 30, "to charge with earnestness and energy." *Ἐκβάλλειν*, "to send away," = *ἀπολύειν*, "to cause to depart or go away," comp. Matth. ix. 25.

No less important than this *prohibition* is likewise the injunction to go to the priests and to offer the gift commanded by Moses (comp. Levit. xiv. 2 sqq.) In this command is partly expressed a wise carefulness in no way to interfere with the theocratic institutions, so as to produce a disturbance; and partly a delicate circumspection not to remove the person cured from his position or status, but, on the contrary, ever to keep him to a faithful fulfilment of his obligations. We nowhere find that Jesus endeavours to introduce every single individual of those healed, through the awakening of a higher consciousness by means of regeneration, into the life of the New Testament; he frequently leaves individual persons, as was, indeed, the case with St John the Baptist, in their undisturbed position, under the law, whenever they were called upon to perfect themselves therein, and endeavours only to bring them to a sense of the true *δικαιοσύνη*, "righteousness," which, from the position assumed by the Old Testament, involved the *μετάνοια*, "repentance." An especial addition is made, moreover, by all the three Evangelists in the words *εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς*, "for a testimony unto them." This addition denotes that the injunction had likewise its reference to the priests. For, by their pronouncing the leper cleansed, they would bear testimony to his healing powers, and thereby, at the

same time, pass sentence on their own unbelief. (The term *ἱερεῖς*, "to the priest," which precedes it, must be viewed collectively, on account of the expression *αὐτοῖς*, "unto them," which immediately follows. *ὑποχωρεῖν*, "to go back, retire, recoil," is only found once besides in St Luke ix. 10 as signifying *clam me subduco*, "to withdraw one's self privately, without noise or notice."

§ 5. THE HEALING OF THE CENTURION'S SERVANT.

(Matth. viii. 5—13; Luke vii. 1—10.)

This narrative is one of the many little gems which form in themselves a united whole, and which adorn the Gospel history. It presents to us a religious soul in the most lovely, the most child-like form, which reveals freely its life of faith without any dogmatical colouring whatever. The centurion, probably one of the Roman garrison of Capernaum, brought up in the element of Pagan life, but living among the Jews, had become inclined to the Old Testament way of life. The miracles of the patriarchal period, with which he had been made acquainted, he might frequently have longed to have witnessed, without being aware that he was destined to see infinitely greater than they ever saw. But fervent as was his faith, equally profound and pure was his humility; he considered himself unworthy of the honour that the wielder of heavenly powers should enter his house. As such he acknowledged Jesus, but as regards his more particular views of Christ, it would not be easy to define them, inasmuch as they were probably not fully developed, as is usually the case with child-like minds, though at the same time essentially correct. An active endeavour on the part of our Lord to enlarge his ideas does not take place; his longing only is appeased, whereby his belief in the friendly manifestation of the Divine agency that came in contact with him became strengthened, and his perfection prepared, from the position in which he then stood. As regards the two narratives of St Matthew and of St Luke, the latter has, no doubt, the advantage over the former, in so far as a more full and accurate exhibition of outward events is concerned. In the words of Jesus (ver. 11, 12), St Matthew only puts forward, in a more clear and distinct manner, that which

related to the Jews, of whom he takes everywhere an especial notice. But the circumstance that the centurion, according to St Luke, sends his friends to Jesus, whereas, according to St Matthew, he himself goes to Jesus, cannot be regarded as a contradiction, inasmuch as the latter representation is nothing but a more brief manner of expressing the matter, seeing that it was his own faith which was made manifest to our Lord, even in the discourse of his friends. *Semler* and others are inclined to regard this occurrence as identical with the one narrated by St John iv. 46—53; but *Lücke* and *Tholuck* have proved the reverse in a convincing manner. As the history of a cure effected by our Saviour, this occurrence is remarkable, in so far as Christ here, without personal contact, merely by the magic of his will (if I may be permitted to use this expression), appears to act, as it were, at a distance, which also finds its analogy in magnetism. (Concerning the circumstance of the centurion's belief, on account of which his servant is restored, comp. on St Matth. xvii. 14 sqq.)

Ver. 5, 6. The locale of this occurrence is pointed out with sufficient accuracy by both the sacred writers referred to; the occurrence took place on Jesus entering Capernaum. The centurion, according to St Matthew, applied in his own person to our Lord, praying for relief for his sick servant; but, according to St Luke, this occurred through mediators, viz. through the elders of the synagogue, to the construction of which he had been a contributor. This circumstance indicates that the Roman warrior had been overcome by the power of truth contained in the Old Testament rule of life, and that he had joined the synagogue as *σεβόμενος τὸν Θεόν*, "a worshipper of God" (probably only as a proselyte of the gate). The centurion, impressed by the circumstance of his being a Gentile, dared not venture on approaching the Messiah in his own person, wherefore he sought the intercession of the representatives of the old covenant, with whom he was closely connected. (*Παῖς*, "boy, lad" = *δοῦλος*, "servant," St Luke vii. 2, like *ἄνθρωπος*, "boy, lad" = *παῖς*, "servant.")—He was suffering from a *παράλυσις*, "palsy," by which term is generally understood only a partial paralysis; but inasmuch as this had brought the invalid near to the grave [*ἤμελλε τελευτᾶν*, "was about to expire"]; hence, it is probable that the expression here stands for apoplexy. The Jewish *πρεσβύτεροι*, "elders," made use of the *innate* affection of the centurion

towards the Jews as a motive to induce Christ, in whom they themselves also presupposed healing powers, to the application of them to this case.—The form, *παρέξει*, “thou shalt afford, or rather confer,” for *παρέξῃ*, which is read or adopted by some Codices, is met with also in St Luke xxii. 42; St Matth. xxvii. 4; St John xi. 40.)

Ver. 7, 8. On Jesus expressing his willingness, and on his approach to the dwelling of the centurion (St Luke vii. 6, *ὡς μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας*, which means literally, “when he was not far from the house”), the latter, according to St Luke’s more perfect description, sent some of his friends to our Lord, with a view to prevent him from personally troubling himself. (*Σκύλλω* is to be found also in St Luke viii. 49, St Mark v. 35, and always with the signification, to trouble, to weary, to harass.) The idea, that the personal presence of the Saviour was not needed for the purpose of effecting the cure of his servant, which he so much desired; that our Redeemer, on the contrary, as the wielder of spiritual powers, could help him with a single word, [*λόγῳ*], bespeaks a trusting faith, and one free from every influence of the senses. But into the wish, that Jesus should not himself come into his dwelling, various feelings and sensations seem to have entered. For, in the first place, it was certainly the expression of the deepest humility, which considered itself unworthy of the honour of a visit from a heavenly guest. (St Luke vii. 7, *οὐδὲ ἑμαυτὸν ἤξιωσα πρὸς σε εἰσελθεῖν*, “not even did I deem worthy myself to come unto thee;” St Matth. viii. 8, *οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανός*, “I am not worthy,” comp. St Matth. iii. 11.) But then, in the second place, with this humility might be likewise combined a fear of the approach of the Holy One, as threatening that which is unholy with danger (comp. on St Luke v. 8).

Ver. 9. The words in which the centurion gives expression to his idea, that the Saviour had no need to trouble himself personally with his sick servant, perfectly declare the nature of the view which he took of the person of Jesus. He instituted a comparison between his relation to the spiritual world, and his own military rank; the latter gave him (notwithstanding his subordinate dignity, *εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν τασσόμενος*, “I am appointed, or set under authority”) yet full power over his inferiors; in like manner, he looked upon Jesus as commanding in the world of the spiritual powers, which the centurion probably regarded as an army of angels (*στρατιὰ οὐράνιος*, “a heavenly host;” = *צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם*, “the

host of heaven"). But whether he regarded Jesus as one of the supreme princes of the angels, or as the Lord of the whole host of angels, cannot be determined; at all events, his ideas must have been misty and confused; heathenish notions of the sons of the gods (as was the case with the centurion at the cross spoken of in St Matth. xxvii. 54) may have been mixed up in his mind with the views which he had heard promulgated concerning the Messiah. But, notwithstanding this inaccuracy of his ideas, he harboured in his *καρδία*, "heart," a deep religious life, which even excited the surprise of the Son of God himself.

Ver. 10. The θαυμάζων, "wonder," of our Saviour at the humble faith of the centurion (comp. on Matth. xv. 21 sqq. concerning the Canaanitish woman) leads to the peculiar relation of the Divine nature to the human, which is alluded to even in the Old Testament (Gen. xxxii. 24 sqq.). Whilst haughtiness in man is an abomination in the sight of the Lord, humility finds favour in his sight, so that he, the Most High, dwells in the depths (of misery) with the lowly-minded (Ps. xxxiv. 18, 19). Here our Redeemer takes advantage of the manifestation of that state of the soul, which is the fundamental condition of the glorification of that which is divine in human nature, in a gentile individual, in order to awaken in his Jewish companions the consciousness of their own peculiar destination. Israel was called, not only to send forth the Redeemer from out her bosom, but likewise to preserve the full susceptibility for his ministrations, and to build up by means thereof the βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, "the kingdom of God," first of all in the midst of herself. The want of this spiritual susceptibility is here reproved by Jesus, who points to the mystery of the transmission of the Gospel to the Gentiles, of which the echoes were already to be found in the Old Testament (Is. xix. 21, 22; lvi. 6, 7; Ps. lxxxvii. 4 sqq.), without, however, as yet connecting the transmission to the heathen of the true knowledge of God with the rejection of Israel.

Ver. 11, 12. The pious centurion appears in what follows as the representative of the Gentiles in general, who surpassed, by their deep and sincere desire for the knowledge of Divine things, the Jews, who, in a state of deadly numbness, still clung to the form only. Such spiritual members of Israel (Rom. ii. 14, 15; xi. 17 sqq.) are regarded as existing scattered among all nations and regions, but as being collected and united by Christ in the kingdom of God, John x. 16. (Ἀνατολαί, "the eastern parts,"

δυσμοί, "the western parts," to which St Luke moreover adds in the parallel passage [Luke xiii. 29] the terms βορρᾶς, "the north country," and νότος, "the south," denote, when considered from a sensible or physical point of view, all the dimensions of the earth's extent, thereby signifying its totality. Comp. Isa. xliii. 6). With these are contrasted the Jews as υἱοὶ βασιλείας, "children of the kingdom," so that the Gentiles are conceived as holding only a more general relation to the Divine βασιλεία, "kingdom." (Similar to the foregoing is Rom. ix. 25, καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαὸν μου, λαὸν μου καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην, ἠγαπημένην, "I will call that which is not my people, my people, and she who was not beloved, beloved," according to Hos. ii. 23). The abuse of their prerogatives on the part of the Jews caused a direct transformation in this relation of theirs. The privileges relied upon by the Jewish people were transferred to the believing Gentiles; the punishments, which they imprecated upon the Gentiles, fell with redoubled force on their own heads. The prerogatives, or privileges here spoken of, are comprised under the ἀνακλίσσασθαι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, "the sitting down in the kingdom;" there is nothing, however, in the expression which can authorise the looking upon it as a mere figurative happiness. Jesus spoke to Jews, who had interwoven with the circle of the notions they held concerning the Messiah, the idea of a common or family repast as a general expression of being or dwelling together with the (resuscitated) saints of olden times, as the representatives of whom Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (and, according to St Luke xiii. 28, all the prophets) are named. Comp. Bertholdt Christol. Jud. page 196, sqq.) Certain passages of the Old Testament (as Isa. xxv. 6) might have induced them to cultivate this notion. According to this view it would be still more natural to perceive in the expressions of our text an accommodation thereof to the Jewish notions of the kingdom of God being opened by a feast, if we could persuade ourselves to the adoption of such a feature in the idea of the Redeemer as that which presupposes, in his character, an accommodation of his views to those very popular superstitions, to destroy which Jesus had come. As this one feature, moreover, is brought forward also in other parts of the New Testament, (Comp. St Luke xiv. 14, 15; Revel. xix. 9), so, therefore, does this passage require another mode of interpretation, which shall be less opposed to the connected chain of Scriptural doctrine concerning the

last things, and to the idea of the Redeemer. There is interwoven, namely, throughout the whole New Testament, the doctrine of a restoration of the earth, in its present state, defiled by sin, (which doctrine recognised by many expositors in passages such as the one under consideration—is not recognised by them in others, for example Rom. viii. 19 sqq.), which is necessarily connected with the resurrection of the body, to be received, according to 1 Cor. xv., as a real restitution, not, it is true, of the perishable body of death, but of the imperishable one, springing up out of the elements of the former. The passage before us refers to this restoration of the earth to its pristine paradisaical state, wherein is revealed the summit of Christ's strength, which overcomes all the powers of sin, so that the *Βασιλεία*, "kingdom," is here the state of righteousness which assumes also externally and visibly the dominion. His appearance, in unison with the resurrection of the saints of the old covenant, may be conceived as celebrated by a new-covenant feast by the Redeemer, who presents himself bodily and visibly in the communion of those whom he acknowledges as his. As the departing Saviour saw himself united with his own for the last time at the Lord's Supper, so, in like manner, will he (according to St Matthew xxvi. 29) also in the kingdom of God collect them once more together with the great family of God, at the marriage-supper of the Lamb, (Rev. xix. 9). Hence, there is no doubt that the fundamental idea of the Jews concerning a feast to be held in the kingdom of God is correct, and is expressed in the New Testament in the very words of Jesus himself; only their carnal sense, on one side, represented it in a gross material manner, and, on the other, viewed it in an isolated way, void of everything that is presupposed as spiritual therein.¹ The external participation in the visibly, and also out-

¹ In consequence of such errors, Chiliasm¹ was rejected by the church during the third century. But that the fundamental ideas thereof, with the exception of their materialistic form, are contained in the New Testament, has been acknowledged in modern times by many expositors, from a mere polemic regard for the Bible. These fundamental ideas,

¹ Chiliasm (from *χίλιαι*, a thousand) designates the tenets of the Chiliasts or Millennarians, who believe that after the general and final judgment the saints shall live for a thousand years on earth, under the personal reign of Christ. This doctrine is thought to have been first propagated in the second century by *Papias*, bishop of Hierapolis, who is believed to have been a disciple of St John the Evangelist; and being also founded on certain passages of the Revelations, it was embraced by many of the early fathers, among others by *Irenæus*, *Justin Martyr*, and *Tertullian*, all great names.—T.

wardly, realised kingdom of God, necessarily presupposes an internal foundation of it in the spirit. But not less erroneous than Jewish materialism is the Gnostic idealism,¹ which inculcates, instead of the real resurrection of the body necessarily implied in a transformed glorified world, a so-called, purely spiritual life or existence, "Geistesleben," which, it is true, is noticed in Scripture, but is there rejected as a vain imagination, (2 Tim. ii. 18). The Bible teaches, that the soul necessarily requires an organ, and hence, that the state after the dissolution of this earthly body is until the moment of resurrection an imperfect intermediate state. With the ἀνάστασις, "resurrection," the βασιλεία, "kingdom," is revealed in its perfect form, and it is even to this that our text refers.

Whilst, therefore, the Gentiles are represented as received into the same (namely, into the βασιλεία "kingdom,") the Jews, on the contrary, appear as shut out from it. (The term ἔξω, "without, outside," points to an ἔσω, "within, inside," inasmuch as the kingdom is conceived as an exclusive region of existence, into which nothing foreign can intrude. Concerning this comp. on Matth. xxv. 10). Φως, "light," to which σκότος, "darkness," forms the contrast, is regarded as the element of the βασιλεία, "kingdom." The epithet ἐξώτερον, "outer," expresses the notion of remoteness from the element of life and joy, (Wisd. xvii. 21, xviii. 1). The enjoyment of the pleasures of the feast in the kingdom of God finds its parallel in the κλαυθμός καὶ βρυγμός τῶν ὀδόντων, i.e., "weeping and gnashing of teeth" in the kingdom of the σκότος, "darkness," in which expression the idea of the most acute feeling of pain, engendered by the knowledge of having missed the true object of life, stands as the everlasting truth.

however, are no other than these: The victory of good over evil even in externals, and a restoration of the pristine harmony even in the visible creation.

¹ The Gnostic heresy is generally supposed to have arisen in the second century; the promulgators of this doctrine believed in the co-existence *ab eterno* of two inimical powers of good and evil (the Oromazes and Azimanes of the ancient Persians). They held that the human soul was of the substance of God, and denied the Godhead of Christ, but admitted that the Divinity dwelt in him. They are accused of holding the opinion that the most unlawful pleasures were not only lawful but good, and of defiling themselves in their nocturnal meetings with all kinds of impurities. Doctor Hammond is of opinion that this heresy originated in the Apostles' days, and that St Paul alludes to it, 1 Tim. vi. 20, and in many other places.—T.

Besides, just so little as the βασιλεία, "kingdom," here spoken of, is in itself, identical with everlasting bliss, as little is the κλαυθμός κ. τ. λ., "weeping," &c., with everlasting damnation; it is true, that ideas immediately connected with each other are frequently used to express remote analogies, and in so far is the relation of these contrasts to the ultimate decision based on truth. Meanwhile, in the description of the κλαυθμός κ. τ. λ., "weeping," &c., we can trace besides nothing but the state of suffering experienced in the sheol, "hell," (comp. the context with Luke xvi. 24), which is distinguished in holy writ from the Gehenna. That all possibility of return cannot here be denied to the repudiated Israelites, is, above all, apparent from Rom. xi. 26, where the promise of salvation is made to the *whole* of Israel.

Ver. 13. Both the sacred writers referred to, state, in conclusion, that our Redeemer, overcome by the ardent faith of the warrior, forthwith healed the sick man. (Ἐκατοντάρχης, "centurion," is another form of εκατόνταρχος made use of in ver. 5.—The verb ὑγιαίνει, used by St Luke vii. 10, signifies "to be whole, to be in health," so that the cure appears also, according to his narrative, as one suddenly accomplished.

§ 6. THE RAISING FROM DEATH OF THE WIDOW'S SON OF NAIN.

(St Luke vii. 11—17.)

This event, which is related only by St Luke, is connected with the preceding in a direct manner, by the words ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς (ἡμερᾷ understood) "on the succeeding day," (ver. 11); we give this section the more willingly a place here, inasmuch as in ver. 16, 17 the fame of our Lord, which now began to be spread abroad, forms the question, and thus refers, in a manner by no means obscure, to an earlier period.

But with regard to the fact of a raising of the dead in general, it is a question very difficult to grapple with, on account of the uncertainty of the appearances, as well as of the nature of death. For, the separation of the ψυχή, "soul," from the σῶμα, "body," cannot be regarded as an absolute one, even though corruption begin to manifest itself, because in that case the resurrection of the body (according to 1 Cor. xv.) would be impossible, and at

best, the only question then could be a new creation thereof. But if there remain, even in death, an unsevered bond between the higher principle of life and the elements of the body which is to be raised up again, and if it is acknowledged by physicians, even from the ordinary point of view of experience, that to come to a determination as to the actual moment when death takes place is very difficult, then is it comprehensible that no other guarantee is *possible* than that afforded by the word of Christ and the apostles against the assumption of an apparent death, or suspended animation in this and similar other cases of raising the dead recorded in the New Testament. Wherever there exists in fact suspended animation, as was the case with the daughter of Jairus (Matth. ix. 24), there it is declared by the mouth of Truth, although she was regarded by all others as being dead; but where there is death, there the same mouth of Truth declares it likewise without hesitation. That which the human eye, in its shortsightedness, could recognise but imperfectly, was discerned by the Lord of the spiritual world with undoubting certainty. The reality of his raisings up from the dead, therefore, rests on the truth of his own person.—The given mode of viewing death at the same time facilitates the perception of the resuscitation. For, as it is to happen at a future period, at the general resurrection, through the mighty life-bestowing power of the Redeemer, in the same manner did he, on occasion of his individual raisings from the dead, restore animation to the deceased (but not as yet destroyed) organ, so that the ψυχή, "soul," already freed, could resume its possession thereof. Hence, every raising from death is, as it were, a total cure of the disturbance of the entire relation existing between soul and body, whereas in the usual cases of partial cures only, there is removed an interruption occurring in this or that department of the psycho-corporeal organism. That same heavenly power, however, which is Life itself (John i. 4), effects the one as well as the other. As the source of every individual life, it can with the same ease recall to its organ the life thence departed, and reinstate in pristine harmony that which had been disturbed, as newly create that which had no previous existence. Concerning questions such as the one, where in the meanwhile has dwelt the departed soul of the resuscitated person, and whether, in the interim, it be possessed of consciousness or not, the Scriptures, for wise reasons, afford no information; and it is suf-

ficient to reflect, that as in general, so also in this case, does the state of the person when dying condition his future state. Therefore the more important is it not to view the raising up from death as having no connection with the moral world. Not only to the relatives and all those who witnessed or heard of this event, was the corporeal awakening to be the means of spiritual re-animation, but also in a more especial manner to the resuscitated person himself.¹ So extraordinary an occurrence must necessarily have produced a powerful and decisive effect upon the internal life, and the resuscitated person have become a living witness to the miraculous powers of our Lord.²

Ver. 11, 12. The city wherein dwelt the afflicted mother to whom Jesus gave back her restored son, was called Nain, (derived perhaps from נָעִים, "fine, beautiful.") It was a small city of Galilee, not far from Capernaum. (Concerning *ἱκανός*, "a considerable number," and *πολύς*, "many," comp. Matth. viii. 30, with Luke viii. 32.) On his coming nigh to the gate of the city (*πύλη*), the Redeemer saw a dead man carried out; it was the only son of a widow. *Μονογενής*, as in Luke viii. 42, ix. 38, Heb. xi. 17, must be taken in the sense of only-begotten, i. e. only child. But the notion of the *only child* here expresses at the same time—as does the Hebrew word *יָחִיד*—that of the most dear, only beloved one.

Ver. 13, 14. The feeling of sympathy expressed by our Saviour for the mother (with regard to *σπλαγχνίζεσθαι*, "to have compassion, to feel the bowels yearn," comp. Luke i. 78) is put forth as the motive which created the resolution in Jesus to raise up the person reposing on the bier. But this does not exclude the idea of this action having a reference also to the resuscitated person. Man, as a sentient being, can *never* be only a *means*,

¹ *Strauss* (vol. ii. p. 157, 2d edit.) thinks a reference to the resuscitated person himself improbable, because it is nowhere specially brought into view. But this reference required no particular mention, inasmuch as it is clearly self-evident. Jesus ministered always to the eternal welfare of men, in every word and in the slightest contact into which they might happen to come with him. How much more, then, by a raising up from the dead!

² Lazarus, according to St John xi. 4, 42, is raised up to the glory of God; but this does not exclude, on the contrary it includes, the view of his death and of his raising up for his own perfection, for the starting into life of the whole man it is, indeed, which is the highest *δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "glory of God."

as would here be the case, were we to regard the joy of the mother as the only object of the raising of the youth from the dead. Her joy, on the contrary, is only the immediate but more unessential *result* of this action, recognisable by those who were present; the secret result of this resuscitation was the *spiritual raising up* of the youth to a more exalted state of existence, through which only the joy of the mother assumed a true and everlasting character. (The term *σφεός* here does not express a *shut-up receptacle*, but an *open bier*, on which the dead were carried to burial. The Hebrews called it *קנה*, *lectulus*, i.e. a small couch.)

Ver. 15, 16. Our Redeemer raised up the dead man without touching him, and by the mere power of his word (comp. Elisha's raising from the dead, 2 Kings iv. 34), which must be regarded as the audible expression of the invisible spiritual effect, through which the *ψυχή* and *σῶμα*, i. e. the soul and body, in this youth, were brought once more into their original just relation to one another. The corporeal resuscitation produced in those present a beneficial spiritual stirring and excitement, and this, as was natural, under the more special form of the *φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "fear of God." Penetrated by the holiness of the ministry of Jesus, they infer very correctly, that such holiness combined with such power points to the certain mission of Jesus from another and higher world. Hence, they view the miracle, according to its design and purpose, as a legitimization of his prophetic dignity. (The expression *προφήτης μέγας*, "a great prophet," refers to the greatness of the miracle; acts such as the raising from the dead were only recognised as having been performed by the princes of the prophetic order.—Respecting *ἐπισκεπτοῦμαι*, "to visit in order to benefit," comp. Luke i. 68.

Ver. 17. By means of such isolated flashes of his divine power manifested in various directions, the Redeemer awakened in the whole nation the consciousness that great things awaited them. Out of the longing expectation with which this knowledge was accompanied, there sprung up a deep feeling of their present misery and need, and an ardent assurance of the future, which spiritual elements the Saviour understood how to direct and make use of for his own holy purposes.

§ 7. HEALING OF ST PETER'S MOTHER-IN-LAW.

(St Matth. viii. 14—17; Mark i. 29—34; Luke iv. 31—41.)

After St Luke (iv. 31—37) has related the history of the cure of a man, in the synagogue of Capernaum, who had a spirit of an unclean devil, a narrative which we pass over as containing nothing remarkable, deferring our remarks to St Matth. viii. 28 sqq., the same evangelist connects immediately therewith the cure of St Peter's mother-in-law, with the formula, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς, "having gone up from the synagogue." This narrative is likewise introduced by St Mark i. 29 with a similar form of words, whereas St Matthew connects it immediately with the narrative of the cure of the centurion's servant. A remarkable circumstance in St Luke here is, that he mentions Simon Peter as a well-known person, without having before named him in his Gospel; this may be explained from the circumstance, that St Luke might presuppose Peter as already known to Theophilus. But it cannot be denied, nevertheless, that this circumstance affords no unimportant feature in that view, according to which St Luke compiled his Gospel from existing documents; hence, as St Peter was mentioned in them, he was likewise mentioned in St Luke, without taking into consideration that no mention had been made as yet of his connection with Jesus. Both St Matthew and St Mark had made some brief mention already of St Peter. (Matth. iv. 18 sqq.; Mark i. 16 sqq.) Besides, the fact itself contains nothing of a peculiar character; only, the general remarks concerning the cures of Jesus find here likewise their application. (Comp. on Matth. viii. 1.)

Ver. 14, 15. The mention of the μητέρα Πέτρου, "mother-in-law of Peter," leads to the conclusion that this apostle lived in the conjugal state. According to 1 Cor. ix. 5, St Peter did not forsake his wife, even when engaged in the pursuit of his apostolic calling, but was accompanied by her on his missionary journeys. (To attempt to explain the nature of the woman's disease from the περί τῆς μεγάλῃ συνίχουσθαι, literally, "the being oppressed with a great fever," of St Luke, would always be very unsatisfactory.) —In this case, likewise, our Lord performed his ministry through an immediate touch (ἥψατο τῆς χειρὸς, "he touched her

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hand"), and restored her so entirely to her former healthy state, that she could immediately go about her business. In the *διακονεῖν αὐτοῖς*, "ministering unto them," must only be seen the result of the cure; here, too, must the proper object of the cure be regarded as one of a moral character.

Ver. 16. Thereupon, the renown of the miraculous cures of Jesus brought to him multitudes of those who sought for help. They came after sunset, because the heat of the day would have proved too wearisome to the infirm. The Saviour, surrounded by hosts of such unhappy beings, that were bowed down by bodily afflictions, presented,—whilst thus engaged in the curative ministrations, by means of which he remedied or alleviated their external necessities,—a picture of the spiritual ministry, which he incessantly exercises, through the power of his redemption, within the heart of man. It must, however, be assumed, that our Saviour, even in his corporeal redemption from their infirmities, i.e. in redeeming or freeing the bodies of men, and through the dense chaos of earthly cares, must have directed attention to the detrimental state of the soul, and to its cure. (For that which concerns the *δαιμονιζόμενοι*, "those possessed with devils," as well as his prohibition to the demons to speak of him [Mark i. 34; Luke iv. 41], comp. the comment. on Matth. viii. 28 sqq.)

Ver. 17. St Matthew, who, writing more especially for the Jews, endeavours to connect the phenomena of the life of Jesus with the delineations of the Messiah as given in the Old Testament, here cites Is. liii. 4, with the formula, *ὅπως πληρωθῇ*, "to the end that might be fulfilled," which is so usual with him. (Comp. on Matth. i. 22.) Moreover, the Evangelist here departs again from the text of the Septuagint, by which the Hebrew text is thus rendered: *ὁὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει, καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνηταί*, "he bears our iniquities, and suffers on our account," in which form the words were utterly unsuitable for his purpose. He follows very accurately the original text, and translates *יָחַץ*, *ἀδύνα*, "sickness, infirmity," and *מַכְאוֹב*, *νόσος*, "disease;" the verbs *נָשָׂא* and *סָבַל*, "to bear up, support, to bear, carry," used by the prophet, are rendered by St Matthew *λαμβάνειν*, "to take," and *βαστάζειν*, "to bear or carry." This independent mode of treating the quotations from the Old Testament does not admit, in the Greek of St Matthew, of a common translation,

that is such an one, in which the translator does not make free use of his own ideas. But the quotation of this identical passage does not seem to suit the object kept in view by the context, especially since, in 1 Peter ii. 24, the same passage is made use of to illustrate the representative satisfaction, or atonement of the Redeemer, and since throughout the entire of the 53d chapter of Isaiah there is contained a description of the Messiah, as suffering for sinful human nature. Yet, the apparent difference in the exposition of the same passage by two writers of the New Testament disappears, if we observe that the physical sufferings (as the climax of which we must regard θάνατος, "death," comp. Rom. vi. 23) are but the reverse side of the consequences of sin. The Saviour, who was called to re-establish the original state of humanity, abrogated external suffering no less than the internal, and in general the former first; because, the being freed therefrom would of necessity be a means of awakening a longing after the freedom of the soul from its sufferings, and of animating the belief in the possibility thereof. The application, then, of the redeeming ministry of Christ to corporeal sufferings, as little excludes the application thereof to the spiritual necessities, as, on the contrary, the relation thereof to the spiritual necessities excludes its application to bodily sufferings. The *entire* man is the object of redemption,—the body as well as the soul. What appears to be difficult only is that λαμβάνειν, "to take," and βαστάζειν, "to bear, or carry," are used in the same manner with relation to Christ, in reference to the ἀσθενείαι, "infirmities," and νόσται, "diseases," as in his relation to the internal sufferings of mankind. (Comp. John i. 29, where our Lord is called ἀμνός τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, literally, "the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.") It appears, as though the exercise of the curative ministry were by no means anything difficult, or attended with pain, for which βαστάζειν, "to bear or suffer," might be a suitable expression. One feels, therefore, tempted to take λαμβάνειν and βαστάζειν merely as ἀφαιρῶν, "to take away," which, it is true, is by no means according to the context of the passage (Is. liii.), in which our Redeemer appears altogether as the suffering one. This difficulty becomes solved, nevertheless, if we conceive the healing ministry of Jesus as being less unsubstantial. If we view the person of the Redeemer as we must do, as being altogether a real human person, as one clearly distinct from his

divine person, then we shall be able to think no otherwise than that the healing ministry of our Lord consisted in a pouring forth and exhalation of his fulness of life; that his whole soul, moreover, entered with a fervent sympathy into the troubles of the suffering person; that he participated with them a true sympathetic pain. Hence, as physical exertion produced in him a physical exhaustion (John iv. 6), so in like manner must every spiritual activity have produced in him spiritual exhaustion. We may say, therefore, that Jesus, even in reference to the *ἀσθενεῖαι*, "infirmities," and *νόσοι*, "diseases," laboured in his *ψυχή*; "soul," and bore the sins of the world.

§ 8. THE FISHING OF ST PETER.

(Luke iv. 42—44 [Mark i. 35—39]; Luke v. 1—11.)

The idea last touched upon, finds also its confirmation in the verses of Luke and Mark which immediately succeed. For, early on the following morning (St Mark has *ἠνυχον λίαν*, "very early," for the more usual *ἡμέρας γενομένης*, "when it was day," of St Luke. The expression, *ἠνυχον*, for which some Codices read, *ἠνυχᾶ*, is met with only in this place), our Redeemer went to a solitary place (*εἰς ἔρημον τόπον*, "into a desert place"), to pour out his soul in prayer. (Mention repeatedly is made of Jesus remaining in silent prayer throughout the whole of the night. Comp. Luke v. 16; vi. 12; ix. 28.) That this retirement of our Lord, to pour out his soul in solitary prayer, emanated from a real feeling of necessity, we are compelled to assume, unless our Lord is to be supposed as having done that which was of an empty, useless character, or for mere appearance sake, all which could only contribute to favour mere fanciful notions. We should rather regard Jesus, according to the Scripture view, as like unto men in all things, "*κατὰ πάντα*," sin only excepted, in order that he might be merciful, "*ἐλεήμων*," (Heb. ii. 17); and in this very view of our Lord's character is contained a richer source of comfort, as well as the possibility of making Jesus our pattern. Considered with regard to his human development, the prayers of Jesus, therefore (which must indeed be regarded as having never been interrupted, according to the command given to us by our Lord himself [Luke xviii. 1 sqq.], but which, nevertheless, had their

climax on occasions specially devoted thereto), may be looked upon as periods of heavenly recreation and strengthening from above, which were needed to enable him to overcome the powers of darkness, that were constantly warring against him. But the occasional times more immediately devoted to prayer by our Lord, must be regarded at the same time as periods, in which the Redeemer gave himself up to the contemplation of the exalted purposes for which he was destined by the Father, and in which he fathomed the depths of Divine love, in order to devote himself more and more to the perfect consummation of his work.

Ver. 43. But the people, seized by the impression which the works of Jesus produced, hastened after him into the desert place, and St Peter, who always appears as the most active among the apostles, went to Jesus to announce to him that the multitude sought him. But our Lord withdraws from them with the remark, that he wished to extend his ministry over the whole of Israel. For, according to its whole plan, the ministry of the Saviour was not originally calculated upon as confining his labours continually to one and the same place; but, on the contrary, was intended to awaken the entire mass of the nation from the sleep of death. Hence, he never dwelt long in one place, but journeyed hither and thither. The more especial guidance of the soul Jesus confined to the narrower or wider circle of his disciples, who gave themselves up so entirely to his sanctifying influence, that they forsook everything else, resigned their former connections and employments, and followed him. (Mark i. 38 uses the expression, *ἐχόμεναι χωμοπόλεις*, "adjoining towns or villages," which occurs only in this passage. By the word *χωμοπόλεις*, he intends us to understand the larger boroughs, approaching in extent to cities. The participle, *ἐχόμενος*, "adjoining," must be received as in *ἡμέρα ἐχομένη*, "the next day," *ἐχομένην σαββατον*, "the approaching Sabbath" [Luke xiii. 33; Acts of the Apostles xiii. 44], in the sense of near, adjoining, bordering upon.—Peculiar to Mark, moreover, is the passage, *εἰς τοῦτο ἐξῆλθον*, "for this have I come forth," which corresponds to the *εἰς τοῦτο ἀπέσταλμαι*, literally, "for this I have been sent," of St Luke iv. 43. In St Mark, it is true, is likewise found the reading, *ἐλήλυθα*, "I have come," but which, as the more common phrase [*ἔρχεσθαι*, "to have come," sc. *εἰς τὸν κόσμον*, "into the world"], must give place to the more uncommon one. For, the term, *ἐξέρχεσθαι*, "to have come forth," refers to the formula of

St John, ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "to have come forth from God," ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, "from the Father," with which ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, "from heaven," would be synonymous. [Comp. John viii. 42; xiii. 3; xvi. 27, 28; xvii. 8.] Thus, there is contained in the expression, ἐξηγήλυθα, a determinate reference to the original relation of the Son to the Father, whereas the expression, ἀπέσταλμαι, "I am sent from," only refers to the appearance of Jesus as willed by God.)

Luke v. 1. Connected herewith, in a vague and uncertain manner, is the narrative of St Peter's draught of fishes; for the ὄχλος, "multitude," whose importunate nearness here forms the question (ἐπιτεθεῖναι, which here signifies "to press upon, to lie heavy upon," is, it is true, a sign of zeal, but likewise of a burthen as regards Jesus), is not the same mentioned at ver. 42 of the preceding chapter, inasmuch as the formula which refers back to passing events in general, ἢ κηρύσσω ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας, "he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee," here intervenes. The connection, therefore, existing between this narrative and the preceding one, is but uncertain. As regards the narrative itself, of St Peter's draught of fishes, it has been observed already on Matth. iv. 18, that in the sketch-like description of the calling of St Peter therein given (on which subject St John alone throws a thoroughly pervading light), the information, that Peter was called to be a fisher of men, was only introduced as an isolated feature into the picture, without its affording ground for the assertion, that this expression of Jesus was immediately made use of by him on his first meeting with Peter. The more exact historical communication respecting this occurrence, in which our Lord designates Peter a fisher of men, is only given by St Luke in this chapter; but he presupposes an earlier acquaintance of Jesus with Peter, and only shows how, on this occasion, the might and greatness of Jesus were displayed to the apostle in their unlooked-for glory, and how thereby he became indissolubly attached to the person of the Redeemer. (The Lake of Gennesareth, on the shores of which we here find Christ teaching, derives its name from the strip of country called Γεννησάρ, "Gennesar." [Joseph. de Bell. Jud. iii. 10, 7, ἡ δὲ λίμνη Γεννησάρ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεχούσας χώρας καλεῖται, "the Lake Gennesar, moreover, is so called from the surrounding region."] This lake is called likewise Θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, "Sea of Galilee" [Matth. iv. 18]. In the Old Testament this

lake is called [Numb. xxxiv. 11; Jos. xiii. 27] יַם כִּנְרֶת. The Chaldee mode of writing this name fluctuated between כִּנְרֶת, גִּנְרֶת, גִּנְרֶת. [Comp. *Winer's Realwörterbuch* under this word.] The extension or length of the lake amounts, according to Josephus [at the place above cited], to 120 stadia [about 12 English miles], and its width to that of 40 stadia.¹)

¹ יַם כִּנְרֶת, "Jam Kinnereth," i.e. the sea of gladness or rejoicing, this name being evidently derived from כִּנְרֶת, "Kinnor," in the Chaldee, כִּנְרֶת, "Kinnor," and כִּנְרֶת, "Kannar," in the Arabic, كَنْز "Kinar," in the Greek, κιννα, a harp, or psaltery. In Gen. iv. 21, כִּנְרֶת, "Kinnor," and according to the Targum, כִּנְרֶת, "Kinnorad," the harp. Hence, כִּנְרֶת, "Kinnereth," Gr. χιννα, quasi, the region of the harp or psaltery, that is, resounding with the music of that instrument, from its abundant fertility and consequent population. In the Chaldee language it is called גִּנְרֶת, "Ginnosar," and from a corrupt amalgamation of the two names is derived the Greek name Γεννησαρίθ and Γεννησάδ, by which the city and the lake are distinguished in the New Testament. This region was celebrated, from the earliest times, for its fertility; we find express mention made of it by name as early as in Deut. iii. 17, where Chinnereth, i.e. Kinnereth, (in the Chaldee Targum, "Ginnasar," and in the Septuagint, by a singular misappropriation of the Hebrew preposition, no doubt mistaken for an Hermantive מַכְנַסֶּרֶת, "Makenereh,") is named as belonging to the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad. It is also noticed in Josh. xi. 2, wherein the Septuagint (there being no preposition prefixed) renders it correctly Χεννα, and where, we may fairly infer, a city of some importance existed even at that early period, as Joshua speaks of the plain south of Kinnoroth. Either on the site, or in the immediate neighbourhood of this ancient city, as we learn from *Josephus*, (Ant. lib. 18, c. 3,) "Herod the Tetrarch," having been received into the immediate friendship of the emperor Tiberius, called the city which he had built after his name, *Tiberias*, for which city he had chosen the choicest land of Galilee, on the shore of the lake of Gennessereth, not far from the town of Emmaus, where there are springs of hot water." From the name of this city, we find the lake also bearing the name of "the Lake of Tiberias," and in St John vi. 1, "the Sea of Galilee (θαλάσσης της Γαλιλαίας), which is the Sea of Tiberias." Besides the city of Tiberias, or Gennessareth, which belonged to the tribe of Naphtali, this lake had several other cities and towns of note on its shores, among the rest Capernaum, Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Magdala. Pliny (Lib. 5, c. 15,) says of this celebrated lake: Jordan in lacum se fundit, quem plures Gennesseram vocant, 16 millia passuum longitudinis, 6 millia latitudinis; amoenis circumseptum oppidis, i.e. "The Jordan pours itself into a lake, which is called by most people Gennessara; it is sixteen miles long, and six wide,

Ver. 2, 3. The great multitude of the people induced Jesus to leave the shore, and to enter into one of the vessels or boats.

and is surrounded with pleasant towns." The account of the present state of this celebrated lake, and its once mighty cities and opulent towns, as given by the Abbate Mariti, is very interesting. Of the city of Tiberias he writes: "The city of Tiberias was one of the most considerable in Decapolis. It was built by Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. Situated towards the southern part of the Lake of Genezareth, it extended its ancient walls for three miles towards the south, and in breadth occupied all that space which lies between the lake and the mountains. This city submitted to Vespasian, and received among its inhabitants all the Jews who escaped from Jerusalem. The Christians seized it in 1100, under Godfrey of Bouillon, but they lost it in 1186, by the treachery of Raymond III. count of Toulouse. It was the seat of a bishop, suffragan to the see of Nazareth, as long as the Christian kings of Jerusalem were masters of it. At present it is much less than it formerly was, being no more than a mile in circumference. It is of a square form, and tradition says that its walls were built by a Hebrew woman. The external appearance of this city gives rise to the most melancholy and gloomy ideas, and in the interior nothing is to be observed but misery and desolation. On one side you see ruins half buried in the earth, and on the other some shattered edifices, converted into a kind of huts or cabins. About a hundred of shadows, who, I was told, were the inhabitants of the place, flock with great eagerness around the traveller, whom they survey with an air of astonishment, little calculated to inspire him with confidence. Before the year 1759, the city was better inhabited, and made a somewhat less melancholy appearance. It contained several very beautiful edifices and ancient churches worthy of attention. The chief Selobi, Daher Pashaw's son, had erected a vast palace here, in which he resided. But all these ornaments of the city disappeared at once. One building to the west of the city, on the borders of the lake, escaped the ravage occasioned by the earthquake; it is a large church, which was long abandoned to the flocks and herds that took shelter in it; but the Christians had the courage to repair it when Daher invited them to come and inhabit the ruins of Tiberias. This place of worship serves also as an hospital for strangers, who are received in a very generous manner." Speaking of the lake, the same traveller says: "The mild and delectable water of this lake, which is made use of by the inhabitants of Tiberias, flows from the sources of the Jor and the Dan at the foot of the Anti-Libanus, where stood the city of Pancades, called likewise Cesarea; through this lake runs the river Jordan, which falls into the Dead Sea. It is sometimes subject to great commotions, occasioned by a neighbouring chain of mountains, where the winds, meeting with opposition, and being driven back violently, rush down upon the water, and agitate it with great violence. It is rare to find here any boats or vessels, because its banks are now barren and uncultivated. I was told that none had been seen for the space of thirty years. Several celebrated cities existed formerly on its shores, of which nothing now re-

The latter had been hauled up on the shore, as is customary with small vessels. Jesus prayed Peter, to whom the vessel belonged, to thrust out a little from the land into deep water (*ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἵκαναγαγῆν*, literally, "to draw off from the land"), and thus taught from out the ship, unmolested by the pressure of the multitude. This setting afloat must be distinguished from the pulling off of the ship into the deep sea (*ἵκαναγαγῆν εἰς τὸ βάθος*, "to pull off into the deep" = *altum*, ver. 4); this was done, in order to be able to fish, or cast out the net.

Ver. 4, 5. After his discourse was finished, and after the consequent dismissal of the multitude, our Lord desired Peter to let down his net for a draught. (*Χαλάζω*, properly speaking, signifies, to relax, to loosen, as, for example, a bow; but it likewise means, to lower, to let down.) St Peter, discouraged by a whole night spent in fruitless labour (a circumstance which indicates clearly that the apostles pursued at that period, at least from time to time, their usual occupation), obeys the command of Jesus more from a reverence for his person, than from his own belief in a happy result. (*Ἐπιστάτης*, "master," is only used by St Luke [viii. 24, 45; ix. 33, 49; xvii. 13]. By this name he calls Jesus, instead of attributing to him the Hebrew title, *Ραββί*, "Rabbi" [רַבִּי], an expression which he could by no means assume as being understood by his Greek readers.

mains but shapeless ruins. The Sea of Galilee is an object of great veneration among the neighbouring Christians, as having been so much frequented by Christ and the apostles. At the distance of a mile from Tiberias on the north, there was formerly a town celebrated for the victories of Vespasian, and of which some vestiges may yet be seen. This town was called Emmaus, which signifies the *Bath*, on account of its hot springs. I was assured that they were endowed with the virtue to cure many diseases. The water issues in great abundance from the foot of a mountain near the Sea of Galilee, and it is so hot, that it is not possible to take a pebble out of it with the bare hand; at some distance from their source, these springs fill a small reservoir, which has been constructed and divided into baths by the Arabs. On tasting some of this water, I found it brackish and sulphurous. It exhaled a disagreeable odour, and left on my tongue a kind of sediment, which was in colour like brick dust." (*Viaggi in Cipri, Soria e La Terra Santa*, vol. ii. cap. 8). What a melancholy contrast is afforded, by the present deserted state of the Sea of Gennesareth, as described above, to the busy picture drawn by St Mark, in his lively narrative of Christ stilling the waves, wherein the lake is represented as alive with vessels, *καὶ ἄλλα διπλοῦν ἢ μισρ' αὐτοῦ*, "and other small ships were with him," Mark iv. 36.—T.

Yet does he also make use of the term διδάσκαλος, "teacher, preceptor," which here signifies, likewise, "Master," instead thereof [as, for example, vii. 40].

Ver. 6, 7. Peter complies with the wish of our Redeemer, and they enclosed in their net a great multitude of fishes, so that it broke, and their companions were obliged to bring the other ship, in order to assist in gathering in the blessing bestowed on them. (*Bυθίζεσθαι* only occurs in this place with the signification of, to be immersed, to sink in the deep, to cause to sink; in 1 Tim. vi. 9 it is used in a figurative sense.)—The blessing of this draught of fish (which forms a contrast to the fruitless fishing of the previous night, inasmuch as Peter laboured by himself) must be viewed, it is evident, according to the intention of the sacred writer, as the *result* of the presence of Jesus, and the *effect* of his power. Hence, Christ here appears as the ruler of nature, or creation, who is able, by the mysterious magic of his will, to lead or direct the creatures that are without reason, according to his own views or determination; even in like manner as the same power of the wonder-working God, the ruler of the universe, annually guides the fish of the sea, and the birds of the air, by means of invisible bonds, in the cycle of their course.¹ Phenomena, analogous to the great wonders of nature, surround the person of our Lord, as if collected around their centre; he rules as the visible God, personally present throughout the wide kingdom of nature; every thing is bound up with the word of his mouth, which is the expression of his holy will, by means of invisible mysterious bonds. And the apparently unconscious movements and agitations of nature, ruled by His omniscience, appear as guided to serve the highest purposes in the moral world.

¹ The notion entertained concerning the so-called *Instincts*, by means of which animals are said to be guided in their thoroughly well-regulated modes of action, is destructive of the deeper view of, or inquiry into the principle of natural life. Of the instincts, which animals are said to possess as something differing altogether from the general natural-life-principle, the same is to be inferred which must be said of the so-called *powers of the soul* (*Seelenvermögen*), or *natural powers* (*Naturkräfte*), in so far as they are looked upon as separate organs, or instruments of action, which exist and act for themselves. As these are the outward expressions of the *One* soul-imbued life (*des Einen seelischen Lebens*), so are those the outward expressions of the *One* great natural life (*des Einen grossen Naturlebens*), which must not be viewed as existing *without* God, but as being *in* God.

Ver. 8, 9. The feeling of the presence of a special Divine domination, which announced itself to them as emanating from Jesus, seized upon them all, and produced in them an astonishment, mingled with fear (*θαμβος*, "consternation"); but in the excitable person of Peter this feeling expressed itself both in words and in deeds. His unholiness appeared to him as forming so piercing a contrast with the heavenly power that was manifested to him in the person of the Redeemer, that he fell at the knees of Jesus, on the one hand worshipping him, and praying him, on the other, *ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*, "depart from me." Herein was contained, beyond doubt, the idea, that that which is holy and that which is unholy cannot possibly agree or harmonise with each other. (Whoever beholds God, must die [Judges vi. 23; xiii. 22; Dan. x. 17], an idea which embodies much perfect truth as regards the revelation of Divine things, considered as under the law [under which we must view St Peter as yet standing], amidst the thunders of Mount Sinai [Exod. xix. 16]. In the loving manifestation of God in the Redeemer, however, the near approach of God to sinful man is not only supportable, but is even animating and refreshing, inasmuch as this presence of God suffers not that which is old to pass away suddenly, but gradually, reproducing, at the same time, in the soul, that which is new. Hence, our Lord appeases the apostle's anxiety, that is to say, he altogether removes his fears, and calls upon him to become a fellow-labourer in the building up of his kingdom, to lay the foundations of which he himself had come.

Ver. 10, 11. The point of the whole occurrence, wherein not only the draught of fishes but likewise the confirmation of the apostles in their faith were things of secondary consideration, is found in the passage: *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἔσθι ζῶντων ἀνθρώπων*, which signifies literally, "from henceforth thou shalt be a capturer of men." For, in this occurrence there becomes manifest to us a characteristic of the actions of Jesus, for the consideration of which we shall hereafter be furnished with frequent opportunities. The Redeemer *teaches by actions*, he speaks by means of deeds to those that surround him; casting a profound spiritual glance into the nature of things, he understood how to apply the formations of nature by his manner of treating them to the purpose of constructing a rich symbolism or system of hieroglyphics.¹ We find also something analogous to this in the actions

¹ St Augustine says most pertinently concerning this matter: Inter-

of great and exalted earthly persons. The ideas by which they are actuated are reflected in whatsoever they do, and very frequently the most insignificant circumstances assume a noble character under their influence. Such a symbolism of works expressly manifests itself in the ministry of the old prophets (comp. Jerem. xiii. 1 sqq., Ezek. xii. 1 sqq., xxiv. 1 sqq.) Among the acts of Jesus this characteristic manifests itself in a manner not to be mistaken in the cursing of the fig tree (Matth. xxi. 18 sqq.), which, without such an assumption, would present difficulties not easily to be solved. But the advantages and prerogatives of such a language of actions force themselves spontaneously upon the reader's mind; under the predominant rule of the imagination and the feelings, which always take place in the imperfectly developed mind of the unreflecting, a living, concrete fact produces a much greater result than mere abstract reasoning. In the question: Wherein is contained the significance of this particular occurrence, we are met by the circumstance that an occurrence similar to that which here opened the way for a nearer connection between St Peter and our Redeemer, likewise closes it at last (John xxi.) We thus meet with a symbolic sign of the future spiritual ministry of St Peter, who is therein regarded as the representative of the apostolic body, at the commencement and at the conclusion of the dwelling in earthly communion of St Peter with his Lord. In the text: ἵση ζωγγῶν ἀνθρώπους, "thou shalt be a capturer of men" (instead of which we find both in St Matth. iv. 19, and in St Mark i. 17, the words: ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων, "I will make you fishers of men"), is formed by the notion of conquering for himself not only the point of compari-

rogemus ipsa miracula, quid nobis loquantur de Christo, habent enim, si intelligantur, linguam suam. Nam quia ipse Christus verbum est, etiam factum verbi verbum nobis est. "Let us ask the miracles themselves what they can speak to us concerning Christ, for they have, if they be understood, their own peculiar language. For, seeing that Christ himself is the word, the act of the word also is a word to us." (Tract. xxiv. in Joann. Opp. vol. iii. p. 349, Edit. Bened.) Compare with these words the fine passage from *Hamann's* works (vol. i. p. 50), who, completely independent of this father of the church, and taught by the Spirit that teaches at all times, and in all climates or regions, *one and the same truth*, thus writes: "Every biblical narrative bears the image of man, a body which is but vain dust and ashes, this is the literal sense; but it likewise contains a soul, the breath of God, the Life and the Light, that shines in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not."

son with the spiritual ministry of the apostles, but it is evident that likewise other spiritual allusions here offer themselves. In the first place, the idea of catching comprehends the relative position of a known person to one unknown, and of the latter being overcome by the former. The same idea presents itself in the relative position of the apostles (as the representatives of the βασιλεία, "kingdom") to the κόσμος, "world." Whilst the former represent the more exalted life-bestowing principle, the members of the κόσμος, "world," occupy the position of those who are unacquainted with the nature of the more exalted life. And, in the second place, the figurative view of the fishing refers to the transference of those that have become believers, from their old element of life, into the pure sacred element of the Gospel, a view which is brought prominently forward in the hymn which is ascribed to *Clemens* of Alexandria, and which runs thus:—

Σῶτηρ Ἰησοῦ—	Saviour Jesus—
Ἀλιεὺ μερόπων	Fisher of men,
Τῶν σωζομένων	Of the saved ones;
Πελάγους κακίας	From the sea of sin
Ἰχθὺς ἁγνοῦς	The sacred fish
Κύματος ἐχθροῦ	From the inimical billow
Γλυκερῇ ζωῇ δελεάζων	Making a bait for them with thy sweet life.

Allusions to this transition from the former, i.e. old element of life, into the new one of Christianity, are very frequently met with in the most remote periods of the Christian church, wherein the term ἰχθὺς, "fish," is used when speaking of Christians. (Comp. *Suiceri* Thes. eccl. s. v. ἀλιεύς, "a fisherman"). Even in the Old Testament are already contained the elements of this comparison, see Jerem. xvi. 16, where it is said in the first hemistich, according to the Septuagint, ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω τοὺς ἀλιεῖς τοὺς πολλοὺς, λέγει κύριος, καὶ ἀλιεύσουσιν αὐτούς, "Behold, I will send forth the many *fishers*, saith the Lord, and they shall fish them." Parallel therewith is the passage contained in the second hemistich, ἀποστέλλω τοὺς πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ θηρεύσουσιν αὐτούς, "I will send forth the many *hunters*, and they shall hunt them."

Ver. 11. This wondrous occurrence drew closer the bond that held together the Redeemer and his disciples; they forsook their earthly pursuits, and, following after Christ, they chose the spiritual calling, which he had pointed out to them, in its analogy

with the external one which they had formerly pursued. But the terms, ἀφίεναι, "to leave," and ἀκολουθεῖν, "to follow," must not be viewed merely as an external act, but pre-eminently as an internal process, of which the external one only formed the visible impress. The power of the higher life in Christ which had laid hold upon them, spiritually freed them from their earthly fetters, and enchained them, by means of invisible bonds, to their master. As to the external view, they returned, even at a subsequent period, to their daily occupations (comp. on John xxi. 3 sqq.).

§ 9. JESUS STILLS THE TEMPEST ON THE SEA.

(St Matth. viii. 18—27; St Mark iv. 35—41; St Luke viii. 22—25.)

According to St Matthew and St Mark, the following event succeeds immediately to the cure of the mother-in-law of St Peter (in ἡμεῖς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, "on the same day"); in St Luke, on the contrary, this occurrence stands in a completely different connection, and is only connected by means of the loose formula, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν, "on one of those days," with that which precedes it. The first verses of this section of St Matth. (viii. 19, 22) are, moreover, parallel to a passage of St Luke (ix. 57 sqq.), which is separated from the former (viii. 22 sqq.) by a large intermediate space. Since we have seen above (Luke iv. 42 sqq.; v. 1 sqq.), that, according to St Luke, even in as immediate a manner as in St Matthew and St Mark, the narrative of stilling of the tempest on the sea, so, in like manner, the section of St Luke, which we have just now explained, succeeds the narrative of the cure of the mother-in-law of St Peter; but as, according to all the three Evangelists, the stilling of the tempest is followed by the cure of the Gergesene, with an accurate agreement as to time and place, hence have we here a new and striking instance of the uncertainty involved in every attempt to bring together, into a chronological whole, the isolated features of this section from out the various narratives of the Evangelists. The words of St Matthew viii. 19—22 form, moreover, rather an introduction, than a portion of the connected course of the narrative. St Luke has treated them, in a subsequent chapter, (ix. 57 sqq.) in a more complete connexion, and with further internal improvement; we therefore defer our exposition of this

passage, until we come to treat of the concluding verses of that chapter. St Matthew seems to have placed it here, in this section which treats of the miraculous acts of Jesus, in order to render the more forcibly prominent the contrast therein existing to the all-commanding will of Jesus, and in order to clearly point out that the greatness of the requisition to follow him who had no place whereon to lay down his head becomes, in its turn, mitigated by the fact, that the same person had the full command of the elements. With regard to the action itself, it introduces the Redeemer in a new light as the ruler of nature, and, in fact, as the stiller and calmer of her convulsions and spasms. Sin, which in its fearful efficacy has disturbed even the physical portion of existence, is hereby represented as subdued by the Prince of Peace, in the most varied forms of its outward manifestation, (Jes. ix. 6). In so far as that which is external forms everywhere a mirror reflecting that which is internal, this and similar events recorded in the Gospel-history, express the analogous ministry of the Redeemer, in the agitated world of the internal life of man. (Comp. on Matthew xiv. 21, 22). The Redeemer, with the party of his disciples in a ship, tossed about by the waves of the sea, is a natural representation of the ark, with the representatives of future or regenerating humanity; and the type of the church in its relative position to the *σίλαγος κακίας*, "sea of evil," in the *κόσμος*, "world."

Ver. 23, 24. Our Lord having determined to cross over to the eastern coast of the lake, (ver. 18,) went on board the ship, and fell fast asleep. The careful Evangelist St Mark depicts this scene with more minuteness, for, he in one place remarks, that in company with this vessel, many other barks crossed the sea at the same time (iv. 36), and in another verse he depicts the exact position in which the Redeemer had laid himself down. (He was sleeping on the *πρύμνα*, the "poop, or stern," [the hindmost part of the ship, Acts of the Ap. xxvii. 29, 41,] with his head reclining on a pillow or cushion. *Προσκιφάλαιον* is probably a prop or support of any kind; it signifies generally, in other cases, a cushion for the head). Whilst Jesus slept, there arose a sudden tempest. (Instead of *λαίλαψ*, "tempest, whirlwind," of Luke and Mark, St Matthew has *σεισμός*, "a violent agitation," which properly speaking, signifies an earthquake, and thence a violent concussion. The Septuagint makes

use of it for רָעָם, "a whirlwind, a violent storm or tempest," 2_Kings ii. 1, 11.

Ver. 25, 26. Although of *little* faith, in so far as they feared to perish with the slumbering Redeemer (concerning ὀλιγόπιστος, "of little faith," comp. on Matth. vi. 30), yet were they *believing*, inasmuch as they looked for their σωτηρία, "deliverance," from the Lord; and not to put "their faith to shame," our Redeemer produced a complete calm. (Γαλήνη, "a calm," = תַּהֲרֵן, "tranquillity," Ps. cvii. 29, according to *Symmachus*.) That which appears very peculiar herein is, that the word of Jesus here appears not merely as controlling the irregular actions or commotions of the elements, as recalling the disturbed powers to unity and harmony; but that our Redeemer stills the waves by a direct address to the sea of these words, σιώπα, σιφίμωσο, "peace or silence, be still" (according to St Mark iv. 39). There can be no doubt but that this contains more than a mere oratorical personification. It expresses the looking upon nature as a living being, which is subject to Divine influences, as well as to those of the evil spirit. Perceiving in the confusions of nature the echoes of the universal disturbance of harmony, our Lord leads them back to their original source. (Concerning the Divine authoritative exclamation of the ἐπιτιμᾶν, "rebuking," comp. on Matth. viii. 30.—Φιμώω, "to stop the mouth, to muzzle, to hold one's peace" [1 Tim. v. 18], φιμοῦσθαι, "to be dumb, silent."—Κοπᾶζω, "to cease" = ἡσυχάζω, "to be still," is used in speaking of the wind, Matthew xiv. 32; Mark vi. 51.)

Ver. 27. The more stupendous and externally striking the effects are of the power of the Redeemer, the more do they take hold on the mind of sensual man. Regarded as in and for themselves, the mysterious spiritual effects thereof are infinitely more sublime and mighty; they strike at the very root of sin, whereas in the former only the remotest echoes or secondary results thereof are touched.

§ 10. HEALING OF THE GERGESENE POSSESSED OF A DEVIL.

(Matth. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—20; Luke viii. 26—39.)

We make use of this most important and difficult of all the histories of the cures effected by our Redeemer, which also stands, according to St Matthew, first of the narratives concerning the treatment of the so-called δαιμονιζόμενοι, "possessed of devils," in order to develop our own peculiar view of the situation of such persons, and of the isolated phenomena of which the Gospels make mention in them, in connection with the views contained in the Scriptures. There prevails throughout the entire of the Holy Scriptures, in a manner not easily to be mistaken, the idea,¹ that the principle of that which is holy, as well

¹ That the doctrine of the existence of devils and of evil angels is so zealously combated, may take place partly with a good intention, inasmuch as it is the wish of some individuals to prevent the repetition of the great abuses experienced from this doctrine; but partly are there also active in these polemics, motives of a quite different nature, viz. moral torpidity, and fear to confess to one's self, in all its hideousness, the nature of the evil which we clearly perceive as existing within us. We ought to distinguish with precision between the abuse of a thing, and the thing itself; then would be comprehended, in its full meaning, how the Holy Scriptures, in that which they impart concerning those things which relate to the spiritual world, accommodate themselves perfectly to the necessities of humanity. As many souls, driven to despair by the struggle with evil thoughts, surrender themselves to that which they might have well been able to overcome, had they been taught to separate their own individuality from that of the evil principle, and to have flung back the fiery darts, which galled and tormented them, against the evil one, who had discharged them against them (Ephes. vi. 16). If we earnestly and with careful striving keep off the devil and his angels, we shall still behold a world full of devilish men, and, as regards ourselves, a heart full of devilish thoughts; as *Goethe* excellently says: "From the evil ones they are freed, the evil (things, thoughts, &c.) remain behind (*den Bösen sind sie los, die Bösen sind geblieben*)."¹ For, evil itself, with its frightful phenomena, can never be entirely got rid of; it remains inscribed in the history of man in indelible characters. The doctrine concerning the foundation or origin of evil, in a higher region of life, is therefore a benefit bestowed on man; it comprises within itself the *key* to the doctrine of redemption. On this account is it also so deeply rooted in the Scriptures, that it never can be got over by the church, for, to that end the church would have to commit herself to such an extent, that she must acknowledge that she has accommodated

as of that which is unholy in human nature, must be sought for not so much in humanity itself, as, on the contrary, in a higher region of existence, from which emanate the influences of good as well as those of evil, which on the part of men may be either received or rejected, according to the position and faithfulness of the individual. The doctrine promulgated throughout the Scriptures embraces in one grand view the good as well as the evil existing in the universe, as in one unbroken connection, only with this difference, that the good, as that which is itself divine, appears at the same time as that which is *absolute* and unchangeable, whereas that which is unholy is represented, it is true, as a real disturbance of the harmony of

herself thereto, and lent herself to the open propagation of error, which she has combined with the idea of her Saviour, which would be nothing less than a suicidal act, a true *felo de se*. But as truth in the abstract will ever remain unconquered, so must also the truth as regards *evil*, which consists even in this, that we know *that* it exists, and *how* it exists. The being ignorant thereof, i.e. its being unknown, is its true conquest. However, as to what concerns the *treatment* (*Behandlung*) of this doctrine, on this subject it behoves us, no doubt, to use the greatest precaution, as with all profound and abstruse ideas, which, like a keen two-edged blade, should only be laid hold of in a spirit of wisdom. The use made of this doctrine in the Scripture affords the most valuable hint for our guidance in this matter. *In the first place*, we find that the idea, in earlier times of the Old Testament life, only comes before us in feeble intimations, it was not until the time of the captivity, when the worship of the true God only had taken deep root in the nation, that the germs thereof developed themselves more extensively. In these manifestations we may find an intelligible hint not to bring the doctrine of the influence of evil spirits either before the minds of children, or before such undeveloped, uneducated minds, as are to be regarded as children. It would be better with such persons, especially as regards the Old Testament, to refer the manifestations of the evil one, without further explanation, to the abandonment of God. Our Redeemer taught concerning the devil in the presence of his disciples only. *Thus, then*, the doctrine which relates to the kingdom of darkness and its ministry, should be explained or illustrated in no other manner than in its dependence on the doctrine of redemption. The consciousness of all-conquering grace is the surest means of preventing all misunderstanding of this doctrine. *Finally*, this doctrine, taken in the abstract, belongs less to the *κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, "the preaching of the truth" (seeing that it is not brought forward as such in the New Testament and in the creeds), it has much rather its chief significance in the private care for the soul. In the various methods or forms of "the counselling, of self-examination," this doctrine has altogether so deep a psychological root, that, by a wise practical application thereof in such cases, a beneficial effect may be looked for therefrom.

creation, but as that which at the same time is ever merely conditional on the will of the creature. Holy writ knows no second principle, and the church has always rejected the doctrine of Manichaeism,¹ as being irreconcilable with the idea of God. By the removal of the source of evil out of and beyond human nature, the *redemption* is at once recognised as being possible. For, it is only the germ of that which is good in man, viewed in its state of bondage under an inimical power, which can be re-

¹ The Manichaeans were Christian heretics, who derive their name from one Manes, who began to preach his erroneous doctrines in the third century. He gave himself out as the Παράκλητος or Comforter whom our Saviour had promised to send; he was originally a slave in Persia, but his mistress, having adopted him as her son, caused him to be instructed in the learning of that country. He held the doctrine of two distinct principles of good and evil, and, of consequence, of two souls in man, striving against each other, and that from the evil soul proceeded the body. He permitted his disciples to wallow in all impurity, and forbade to give alms to any but his own followers; he attributed the motions of concupiscence and all bodily desires to the evil soul; he taught that the souls of his followers passed through the moon and afterwards through the sun for purification, and then to God, into whom they are absorbed, and that those of other men went to hell, to be again sent forth into other bodies; he taught that Christ resides in the sun, the Holy Ghost in the air, wisdom in the moon, and the Father in the abyss of light. He denied the resurrection, and condemned marriage; he taught the transmigration of souls, that Christ had no real body, that he was neither dead nor risen, and that he was the serpent that tempted Eve. He forbade the use of eggs, cheese, milk, and wine, as proceeding from the evil principle, and used a form of baptism differing from that of the church. Finally, he taught that magistrates were not to be obeyed. Such were the tenets of this heresiarch, that Pope Leo said of him, that "the devil reigned in all other heresies, but that he had built a fortress and raised his throne in Manichaeism, which embraced all the errors and impurities that man is capable of. For, whatever profanation was in paganism, carnal blindness in Judaism, unlawful curiosity in magicians, or sacrilege in other heresies, they did all centre in that of the Manichaeans." This heresiarch promised the king of Persia to cure his son, whereupon the king sent away all the physicians, the consequence of which was that the patient soon after died. Manes, therefore, was thrown into prison, but made his escape; yet having been recaptured soon after, he was flayed alive, and his body thrown to the wild beasts.

The Manichaeans were divided into hearers and the elect; of the elect twelve were called masters, in imitation of the twelve apostles, and a thirteenth was placed as a kind of pope over them. The emperors, in the fourth century, passed severe laws against these heretics, whose opinions were gaining ground in Africa, Gaul, and in Rome itself, where a council was held against them. The Latin fathers do not well agree as to the time of this heretic's first appearance, but *Spannheim* says it was in the reign of Probus.—T.

deemed; but the inimical power itself, as also man, if he has totally and knowingly given himself up thereto, and has thus become one with it, is no object for the ministry of redemption. Hence it is that the kingdom of evil, considered in its individual character, and as the contrast (although a relative one) to the kingdom of good, is called in the Scriptures, *διάβολος καὶ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ*, "the devil and his angels" (Matth. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 9), as also *βασιλεία τοῦ σατανᾶ*, "the kingdom of Satan" (Matth. xii. 26). The expression, *διάβολος*, "devil," and *σατανᾶς*, "Satan" (= *ῥῶν* = *κατήγωρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, "the accuser of the brethren," Rev. xii. 10), is only used in the singular when speaking of the centralised power of the evil one, which as the power of his kingdom is conceived according to his potential might as being borne within him. It is true that *σατανᾶς*, "Satan," appears to be used once as equivalent to *δαιμόνιον*, "that which is demoniacal or devilish" (in the text, Matth. xii. 26), but it is even here only apparently so applied. The subordinate evil spirits (corresponding to the *ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "angels of God") are called *δαιμόνια*, and sometimes, though not so frequently, *δαίμονες*, "demons" (Matth. viii. 31; Mark v. 12; Luke viii. 2, xxvii. 3); more frequently, however, they are called *πνεύματα ἀκάθαρα*, "unclean spirits" (Luke viii. 29; Ephes. vi. 12, *πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας*, "the spiritual powers of evil"). The ancient signification of the word *δαίμων*, "dæmon," = *δάημων*, "knowing, skilled," is more comprehensive; it denotes that which is cunning or knowing, and since to be knowing is to possess innate knowledge, announces itself as the characteristic of a spirit, hence it denotes spiritual beings in general. (The more exact distinction of the character of the being is pointed out by means of additions, such as *ἀγαθοδαίμων*, "good dæmon or spirit;" *κακοδαίμων*, "evil dæmon.") Analogous to the mode of viewing that which is good in its various manifestations in the angels of light, is evil individualised in its various modifications of the angels of darkness (concerning the classification of demons, comp. Ephes. vi. 12). The germ of this view of the subject is contained even in the earliest writings of the Old Testament, and without calling in the aid of foreign influence, which is said to have affected the Jews during their Babylonian captivity,¹ we

¹ This view, which has become so very common, offers many important historical difficulties. For, as the Chaldeans ruled in those parts of the country to which the Jews were led by Nebuchadnezzar, from whose national form of devotion such an influence upon the Jews cannot be

can imagine a development of this germ springing out of the national mode of life itself, by the help of a progressive enlightenment through the Spirit of truth. If we proceed, however, upon the magnificent view of an unity of the entire kingdom of the evil spirit, the question then will be, which peculiar form of the influence of the powers of darkness the Scripture here indicates when using the expression, *δαιμονιζόμενοι*, "possessed with devils." For, although the Scripture connects in this manner the spiritual evil existing in humanity with the influence of the devil (St John xiii. 27, for example, speaking of Judas Iscariot, says, *ὁ σατανᾶς εἰςῆλθεν εἰς αὐτόν* [*εἰς ἱεσθον*, "into that one," is the term

derived, seeing that the Chaldeans held no doctrines of demons (*Münther's* supposition in his *Relig. der Babyl.* p. 87 sqq., that the Chaldaic mystery contains some hints respecting demons, is a mere hypothesis); hence the question arises: whether the doctrines of the Zend, the influence of which is had in view when asserting that the Jews had derived their doctrine of demons during their exile, had been promulgated anywhere in the kingdom of the Chaldeans? Magi, it is true, were in this city indeed long before the conquest of Babel by Cyrus (comp. *Berthold's* third *Excurs* to his commentary on Daniel), but whether these magi were servants or worshippers of *Ormuzd* or *Oromazes*, and acknowledgers of *Ahrimanes*, is very doubtful (comp. *Gesenius* in the second supplement to the commentary on Isaiah), inasmuch as all Chaldean names of the gods bear no resemblance with the Persian ones. But granting that the Zendavist form of worship had formed a part of the altogether mysterious doctrines taught in the kingdom of the Chaldaeans, it would be nevertheless inconceivable how the poor Jewish exiles could thereby have obtained any knowledge of it; and so much, too, as that they should have admitted new dogmas within the circle of their ideas. The whole affair requires, as has been already said, a thoroughly profound historical investigation. But no less refutable is the notion that the assumption of the existence and influence of evil spirits is a view inseparable from the infancy of human nature. The history of the development of demonology, as contained throughout the Scriptures, proves as forcibly to the contrary as does the nature of the thing itself. The purer, deeper, and more true the sense is in which that which is Divine is comprehended as that which is good, the more completely and profoundly will man recognise the evil existing in his nature, and the more thoroughly will he examine into it throughout the course of its development. As the highest personifications thereof, the Scriptures point out the false prophets and false Christs, whose appearance they defer until near the end of the world. That the most modern doctrinal views, even since the period of the Reformation, have been, even according to their own theories, so little able to assimilate or appropriate to themselves the doctrines concerning the kingdom of darkness (as may be seen, for example, from *Schleiermacher's* Dogmatic), all this only proves that Christian knowledge has not as yet been thoroughly penetrated by the light of Gospel principle.

used by the Evangelist in the chapter here mentioned], "Satan entered into him"), yet are the representatives of evil in humanity (such as false prophets and antichrists) never called δαιμονιζόμενοι, "men possessed with devils." In these latter, on the contrary, we always perceive manifest appearances of disease, more especially convulsions of an epileptic character, and a disturbed existence and enfeebled self-consciousness. Yet, again, diseases of this kind do not appear as specifically confined to those possessed by demons; for, it is evident that one and the same forms of disease may be viewed at one time as being of demoniacal origin, and at another as not. Were a person, for example, to become dumb in consequence of an organic defect, as, for instance, through the mutilation of the tongue, such an individual would never be called a demoniac, even though a δαιμονιζόμενος, "one possessed with a devil," who was dumb, be spoken of in Luke xi. 14. Many demoniacs prove themselves evidently to have been *maniacs* (for example, the Gergesene, whose history we have before us), but from this does it not follow that every lunatic, perhaps even such as had become unsettled in mind in consequence of an injury suffered by the brain, was considered by the Jews as a demoniac.¹ All descriptions of demoniacs, on the contrary, present a strange *confusion* of the psychical, i.e. moral and physical processes. It appears, *in the first place*, as though the state of demoniacs always involved a certain degree of moral turpitude, yet so, that the sin practised by them presents itself not so much in the form of wickedness, properly speaking, but more in the shape of a predominating sensuality (more especially voluptuousness), habitually practised, notwithstanding the struggles of their better self. In this manner, the noble, deeply-rooted germ of life may be preserved in such persons, and the longing after redemption develop itself from out that same, whenever the knowledge, or sense of their terrible position, i.e. of their being held in bondage by the powers of sin, revives and awakens in

¹ *Josephus* (Antiq. vii. 6. 3) considers the demons to be the souls of wicked men, and according to this view *Justin Martyr* explains to his own satisfaction the state of those possessed by demons. (Apol. I. c. 16. p. 14, edit. *Braun*.) But this opinion must be regarded as the private opinion of a few, and not as the prevailing national view of the subject. *Josephus* (Antiq. viii. 2. 3) relates the history of the cure of a demoniac. That *Apollonius* of Tyana, too, drove out evil spirits, is recorded by *Philostratus* (Vita Apoll. iv. 20. 25). Comp. *Baur's* Leben des Apollonius, p. 144.

them. And, *in the second place*, there becomes manifest in demoniacs another characteristic feature, which consists in a debility of the bodily organisation, especially of the nervous system, the result of the sins which they have habitually practised; and the closer the connection is which exists between the nervous life and all the spiritual or moral functions, the more easy must it be for the debility thereof to produce a disharmony in the whole of the internal life. This appears with so much the more violence in such unhappy beings, the more irritable or excitable their conscience shews itself to be in them, which testifies to them continually, that they are themselves the cause of their own misery, without their being in a condition to extricate themselves by means of their own exertions from the fetters of sin, and from the bonds of the kingdom of darkness, to the influence of which they have delivered up themselves. But whoever, on the contrary, has voluntarily surrendered up himself with his whole internal life to sin, and that more according to its spiritual than sensual part, may have become a *πονηρός*, "evil or wicked man," but no *δαίμονιζόμενος*, "man possessed with devils." For, there remains in such persons a certain internal unity of being, which may become in the end despair (as in the case of Judas), but not alienation of mind, which presupposes a violent internal conflict between the better portion of man and the powers of darkness, to which the individual feels that he is in bondage. With this manner of viewing the subject agrees, *in the first place*, the description afforded in all cases of demoniacs of their physical sufferings: the diseases enumerated are more especially convulsions, epilepsy, mania, as also lunacy (according to St Matth. xvii. 14 sqq.), forms of disease that agree very well with our assumptions. This seems to be less the case where demoniacs are spoken of as dumb or deaf; yet, even such forms of physical suffering may be easily made to assimilate with our fundamental or original idea, if we only keep out of view, as has just been observed, organic destruction of the ear and of the speech, whenever we speak of demoniacal deafness and dumbness; but if we rather look upon them as nervous paralysis, which have been induced by the evil conscience of the sufferers from the influence of the kingdom of darkness, to which they are but too fully aware they had granted admission into their inward man. Hence, the very usual view, according to which the demoniacs are declared to have been sick

persons, has one true side; but it is a one-sided view, embracing only that which is external, whereas the description of holy writ grasps the phenomenon of disease at its moral root. *And then again*, the fact that in all the demoniacs was expressed a longing after redemption, joined to a hope of being cured, also agrees perfectly with our view. And even though this longing be but, as it were, a *spark* of hope and faith, which as yet burns faintly in the inner man, yet, does even this spark express the receptivity for, i.e. the capability of receiving, the higher powers of life, which the Redeemer brings to them for their acceptance. Hence, the demoniacs do not appear by any means as the most wicked, but only as very unhappy men. The decidedly wicked man, he who has admitted to the undisturbed possession of his heart, and throughout the pulsations of his innermost life, the inimical influence, without offering any resistance thereto, he alone cannot be cured,—he wants faith in the most secret ground of his heart and soul,—he is void of the receptivity for the higher element of life. In the demoniac is visibly manifested the struggle with evil in its more hideous form; but the fact of there existing as yet an inclination for offering resistance thereto, speaks in favour of the assumption, that there yet exists a noble germ of life; so that thus *faith*, even in demoniacs, is necessarily to be assumed as the essential cause of their cure. *Furthermore*, with our view perfectly agrees the circumstance, that we frequently find in the descriptions of demoniacs a subjection of the human individual consciousness under the influence of the inimical powers of darkness. Their speeches emanate from this particular position of their intellect, or rather the powers of darkness speak through them, but always in such a way, that the personal consciousness flashes out from time to time, although only for a moment. This state forms altogether the opposite parallel to the *ἵκστασις*, i.e. “trance,” or that state in which the soul is unconscious of present objects, being as it were wrapt in visions of distant or future things, or with the *ἐν πνεύματι εἶναι*, “being in the Spirit,” and *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*, “speaking with tongues;” for, that which is effected under such circumstances by the sacred element of the *πνεῦμα*, “spirit,” or *φῶς*, “light” (comp. 1 Cor. xiv., in which the subjection of the human intellect or mind [*νοῦς*] to the overwhelming sacred power is expressed in a manner not to be mistaken), the same is here effected by the unholy element of the *σκότος*, “darkness.” Hence, the internal state of the demo-

niacs must by no means be represented to ourselves as one in which there was comprised or contained within the *one* individual a twofold or manifold subject, but the unfortunate subject of these sufferings herein appears with a depressed human intellect, and a potential or tyrannising foreign (spiritual) life; but inasmuch as the moments of the predominance and withdrawal of the inimical powers alternate, hence, after having suffered a paroxysm, the human *ego* or "self," accompanied by the whole train of its feelings of misery, rises up in bright moments to the consciousness of this state of bondage. We discover, moreover, *finally*, in demoniacs, a power of presentiment or foresight, varying in its degree, a kind of somnambulistie *clairvoyance*, in which they recognise the importance of the person of Christ with respect to the whole of the spiritual kingdom. And this very phenomenon agrees completely with the supposition, that nervous affections form the basis of all such states (of mind), as far as regards their corporeal development; and how easily an unnaturally excited nervous action combines itself with the gift of *clairvoyance*, is known well enough from the history of animal magnetism. This, then, will explain the contradictory nature of the speeches of demoniacs; at one time they express the deep insight which they have obtained into the nature of everlasting truth, at another, rude vulgar notions are mixed up with their conversations, and the whole of their discourses bear the terrible intuitive character of delirium, and of the confused language of madmen, who not seldom express striking ideas, but who at the same time connect them with other elements in such a manner, that the dazzling character of the idea is a testimony of so much the more doleful a nature to the extent of the disorder of their internal life, from which it (i.e. the idea) bursts forth. But, according to this view it would remain to be explained, wherefore it is that we have at present no longer any demoniacs.¹ *In the first place*, it is certainly un-

¹ According to the prevailing opinion, I have assumed that such is the case, that no demoniacs are met with any longer. And yet it cannot be overlooked that distinguished physicians, such, for example, as *Esquirol* of Paris, are of a different opinion. (Comp. the "*Magazin für ausland. Heilkunde*." By *Gerson* and *Julius*. Sept. 1828. p. 317.) *Kerner's* views on this point are well known. A remarkable instance of a demoniac in the East Indies (in the year 1817) is related by the missionary *Rhenius* (in *Mayer's Blätter f. höh. Wahrh.* vol. vii. p. 199 sqq.) Were

deniable that the spirit of the gospel has worked beneficially, even in this respect, for the human race, and that many manifestations of the ministry of the evil one (especially in its rudest forms) have been thereby greatly mitigated. Men have erroneously gone at times so far as to assert that (according to 1 John iii. 8,) the devil can produce no longer any effect in the church of Christ, to prove which the passage above referred to is indeed least of all suited. This might indeed be admitted with reference to the ideal, invisible church (as the communion of saints); but the external church forms evidently a mixed communion, in which the power of the redeeming ministry of Christ is understood as in a state of continual development, but which has as yet by no means sanctified the whole, whence it is that the influences of the kingdom of darkness cannot be considered as no longer existing in the church, but only as having assumed a milder form. *In the second place*, then, the *phenomenon* in question must be explained from the circumstance, that the knowledge of evil spirits and their influence has been suppressed and subdued. Many a maniac or epileptic patient may be in a state which is very analogous to that of the δαιμονιζόμενοι, "those possessed by evil spirits," only the sufferer (as does ordinarily, indeed, also the physician himself) looks upon his case in a different light.¹

the apostles to enter our lunatic asylums, the question is as to the names they would give to many of the invalids therein contained.

¹ This very circumstance explains the fact of no mention being made of demoniacs throughout the Old Testament. The doctrine of demons, and of their influence, was little propagated among the people previous to the captivity; hence, if the kingdom of darkness even called into existence similar phenomena (as may be the case at the present time), yet they were not recognised as such. Forms analogous to those of the New Testament may have sprung up into existence after the period of the captivity; but as the prophetic writings of this period contain little that is of an historical character, hence it is very easy to be explained why information is wanting in them on this subject. But the spiritual life of the Israelitish people was, generally speaking, very enfeebled at the time of the composition of the apocryphal writings, and hence it was that the *contrasts* thereto were so slightly developed. As for the fact of the most sublime phenomena of the Divine power being *so frequently* coupled with the manifestations of the hideous powers of darkness throughout the New Testament, it is no doubt to be accounted for from the elevated character of the whole period which threw out all contrasts in sharper and more definite forms. But with regard to the cause of the silence observed by *St John* the Evangelist respecting the demoniacs, the same must be sought for in his position with regard to the Evangelists in general (Synoptikern); these had thoroughly recorded the

But that the knowledge, or want of knowledge, of this hapless being as to his case, is a matter purely accidental, it is clear enough, that in this, as also in the name which the maniac gives to his demon, is reflected only the time being. Hence, we can say at best that these phenomena have become of much rarer occurrence; and this permits us to perceive, in what manner the healing powers of the Redeemer will remove at a future period all the disharmonies existing in the physical as well as in the psychical, i.e. the moral, life of man.

If we glance, after these remarks, at the history of the *Gergasene demoniac* at present lying before us, which still offers many difficulties peculiar to itself, it must, in the first place, be observed in general concerning it, that St Matthew speaks of two such hapless beings, whereas the two other Evangelists recognise *one* only. A similar doubling of persons (*Verdoppelung*) may be found in St Matth. xx. 30, where he speaks of two blind men, whereas St Mark x. 46, and St Luke xviii. 35, make mention of only one blind man. This disparity belongs to those differences that have already been treated of in the introduction (§ 8), which we must regard in the manner in which they offer themselves, i.e. as discrepancies, without seeking for any subterfuges, as, for example, that one spoke, and that he therefore was the only one mentioned, or such like. In this case it is highly improbable that there should have been two sick persons of this kind; it is likely that St Matthew has combined this occurrence with one of a similar character, which might have been more easily the case with him, inasmuch as he is accustomed to fill out, so to speak, the external frame in a loose sketchy manner. Moreover, the manner of writing, in treating of the locality after which the demoniac, who is spoken of in the history before us, is named, is vague. The readings differ in all the three Gospels, inasmuch as we find therein Γεργασηνῶν, "of the Gergasenes," Γαδαρηνῶν, "of the Gadarenes," Γερασσηνῶν, "of the Gerasenes," from which we may justly conclude, that they did not agree originally in the reading of this name; the various readings have only proceeded from the exertions made to render them conformable

cures of the demoniacs, and hence St John (to whom, in general, the actions of Jesus only serve as connecting links for the discourses he has to communicate) thought himself privileged to observe a silence concerning them. Of the devil, at least, the view taken by St John was (according to viii. 44; xiii. 27) in no manner whatever anomalous.

with one another, whereas the possibility of thus varying in the name of the place must assuredly be sought for in the locality itself. In Decapolis (comp. on Matth. iv. 25), in which, according to St Mark (v. 20), this occurrence took place, there was the well-known city *Gadara*, the capital of *Peraea*, sixty stadia (nearly seven English miles) distant from the city of *Tiberias*, celebrated for its warm baths.¹ In a more northerly direction was situated the city of *Gerasa*, forming the eastern boundary of *Peraea*, which, although remote from the sea, was yet so situated that the district thereof extended to it, in so much that the *χωραί*, "districts, territories," of the two cities might easily be confounded with one another. (Regarding both these cities comp. *Winer's Reallexicon*, p. 227 sqq.) *Origen* (opp. vol. iv. p. 140) relates, it is true, that the cliff or precipice (*a steep place*, as the English version of the New Testament gives it) was pointed out in his time from which the herd of swine is said to have precipitated itself, and calls the neighbouring city *Gergesa*.² Yet the whole report only treats of a tradition, and hence the existence of a town of this name becomes problematical, inasmuch as other safe vestiges are wanting to prove that it existed in the time of Jesus. (Concerning the ancient *Gergesa*, comp. Deut. vii. 1, Josh. xxiv. 11, Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* vi. 2.) The reading of *Γαδαρηνῶν*, "of the Gadarenes," as contained in the text of St Mark and St Luke, is no doubt the correct one; in St Matthew, on the contrary, it had been adopted, without doubt, from the two former Evangelists. But it would be difficult to decide whether in St Matthew the preference is to be given to *Γεργεσηνῶν*, "of the Gergesenes," or *Γερασηνῶν*, "of the Gerasenes." The former reading is preferred in the edition of *Griesbach-Schulz*,

¹ Comp. our note on this subject at p. 295.—T.

² *Origen* gives the reading *Γερασηνῶν*, as the one in use in the manuscripts of his time; the reading *Γαδαρηνῶν*, says he, is only met with in a few copies; he decides, however, in favour of *Γεργεσηνῶν*, on account of the traditional statement. Concerning *Gergesa* his words run thus: *Γεργεσα, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ Γεργεσηνοί, πόλις ἀρχαία, περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τιβερίαντος λίμνην, ἀπ' οὗ δείκνυται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταβεβλησθαι*,¹ "Gergesa, from which (is derived) the Gergasenes, an ancient city, near the lake now called the Lake of Tiberias, from whence it is pointed out that the swine were cast down by the demons."

¹ Maundrell in his "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," p. 115, has a remark apposite to this of *Origen*. "From the top of Tabor you discover due east the sea of Tiberias, distant about one day's journey; and close by that sea they show a steep mountain down which the swine ran and perished in the waters."—T.

on the authority of the manuscripts; but the question is whether this reading has not been introduced into the manuscript merely on the authority of Origen, and whether the original reading of St Matthew was not Γερασσηῶν? *Fritzsche* is likewise against Γεργεσηῶν, yet does he decide in favour of Γαδαρηῶν, according to which, however, the original reading must have been the same in all the three Gospels, which is not probable, on account of the many deviations in the name.

Ver. 28. The description of the demoniac, as given in our narrative, is evidently of such a kind as to cause us to believe that the person here spoken of was a maniac (maniacus). The mania seized the unhappy man at some moments in the form of convulsions; as soon as the paroxysm was over, there intervened a period of rest. This state of the poor creature is depicted in a highly clear and finished manner in v. 3—5 of the Gospel according to St Mark. Muscular power of an enormous character, as is invariably the case in cases of *mania*, manifested itself in this man; in order to restrain him, they had fettered him (πέδη = περισκέλις, "a leg band, garter, or anklet," was a species of fetter or shackle for the feet, one of the usual forms of the ἀλυσίς, "shackle, chain, fetter"), but he broke his fetters, and suffered not even clothes to remain on his body. The inimical power, which he had admitted into his inward man, drove him to lonely and retired places, where he dwelt in tombs, and alarmed, by his appearance, the passers by. (The μνήματα, "tombs," must be regarded, in one view, as being at a distance from the town, and in another view, as hewn out of the rocks near to it, whence St Mark v. 5 combines the ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, "in the tombs and in the mountains.") But his better self awakened likewise in him from time to time, and expressed itself in lamentable cries of distress, and in self-tormentings to which he was driven by the knowledge of his guilt (κράζων καὶ κατακόρων ἑαυτὸν λῶσις, that is, "crying out and cutting himself with stones," Mark v. 5.) The narratives of St Mark and St Luke alone afford us a clear picture of the meeting of Jesus with this hapless individual, and of the treatment he experienced at the hands of the Redeemer; St Matthew (ver. 29) begins at once with the exclamation: τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, "what have we to do with thee," literally "what is there (in common) to us and thee," by which the representation of the event is rendered less clear. For, according to St Mark and St Luke, it was at first a bene-

ficient agitation which, at the sight of the Prince of Peace, affected the poor man, who felt within him the raging of wild and furious powers in their freedom. He hastened towards the spot, and prostrated himself at the feet of Jesus, expressing, in this action of homage, his confused recognition of Christ, and that he expected help from him. We should destroy, it is true, the whole connection, were we to view the *κράζας μεγάλη φωνῇ*, "crying out with a loud voice," which is combined by St Mark and St Luke, with the expression *προσεκύνησε*, "he worshipped," as in reality belonging to it; the *προσκυνεῖν*, "worshipping," then, could only be an expression emanating from the dominion of the demoniacal power, and the *μὴ με βασανίσῃς*,¹ "that thou torture me not," must have formed the object of his humble request, and not healing or recovery. But it is clear, that the demoniac, in this case, would not have hastened towards Jesus, but that he would have fled from him; besides, with this view does not agree the following: *ἔλεγε γάρ κ. τ. λ.*, i.e., "for he said," &c., of St Mark v. 8. (St Luke has *παρήγγειλε γάρ κ.τ.λ.*, "for he had commanded," &c., viii. 29.) For, the expression *γάρ*, "for," is evidently intended to form the motive of the *τί ἔμοι καὶ σοί*, "what have I to do with thee," and hence the aorist must be taken as a pluperfect. (Comp. *Winer's Gramm.* p. 251.)

Ver. 29. The whole will then assume the following form: Possessed by an inward presentiment that aid was to be obtained, the wretched man hastens to the Saviour as soon as he sees him, and throws himself in a beseeching posture at his feet; Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to depart from him, and forthwith the state of this individual took another turn; he was seized by a violent paroxysm, and whilst in this state he spoke, his human consciousness being entirely subdued under the influence of the demoniacal power, and cried aloud: *τί ἔμοι καὶ σοί*, "what have I to do with thee?" literally, "What is there (in common) to me and thee?" though he himself, altogether guided by mere human nature, had sought out our Lord. (The usual expression implying a command to the demons to come forth, is *ἐπιτιμᾶν*, "to reprove, to strictly charge," = *רָצַף*, "to restrain, to rebuke,"

¹ Expressions of a similar kind made use of by demoniacs are likewise found in the exorcising of a devil by Apollonius of Tyana; yet, it is probable that Philostratus here took the idea from the narratives contained in the New Testament. (Comp. *Bauer* in the place quoted p. 145).

wherein is contained the idea of severe punishment.) This change of the disposition of mind of the demoniac, connected with the circumstance that his cure did not take place identically with the ἐπιτιμῆν, "rebuking," of Jesus is a very important feature towards the understanding of this narrative, and to an exact appreciation of the state of demoniacs in general. According to our fundamental idea, as developed above, the most simple view of the whole affair will be this. The situation of this pitiable being had probably become so perilous, in consequence of his heavy guilt, and the long-continued exercise of sin, that a mighty exercise of the sacred power of Jesus at once upon him might have expelled, it is true, the powers of darkness, and perhaps destroyed, at the same time, the bodily organization of the demoniac. Even the first endeavour of Christ, which is expressed in ἐξέλθε ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "come forth out of the man," was followed by a mighty paroxysm (although we must regard this spiritual operation of Christ as moderate); and whilst, in this state, the luckless wretch spoke as was dictated by the ruling powers of darkness, his consciousness being entirely subdued thereby. In order to raise him again from this deplorable state of mind, to lead him gradually back to self-consciousness, Jesus, by way of diverting his mind from his imaginations, asks him his name, whereby he would naturally be induced to exercise reflection. In the words of the demoniac: τί ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν) καὶ σοί, "what is to us (to me), and to thee," (corresponding to the Hebrew מָה לָנוּ וְלָךְ, Josh. xxii. 24; 2 Sam. xvi. 10), by which is here denoted the knowledge of the wide separation and perfect distinction of the beings now in presence of each other; as in the address, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, "Son of God!" here is clearly expressed the gift of clairvoyance in persons of this kind. For if, indeed, by the use of this name no doctrinal views are to be supposed with which it might have been connected, yet does it denote a sacred personality, in which the better portion of the demoniac perceived, during his lucid intervals, a Saviour, and the inimical powers, which had assumed the ascendancy, beheld the *Judge*. This is the very species of recognition so often *forbidden* by the Saviour, (for example, Mark i. 34; Luke iv. 41: οὐκ ἔφει λαλεῖν τὰ δαιμόνια, δτι ᾔδεισαν αὐτόν, "he did not permit the devils to speak, because they recognised him." Comp. also the Acts of the Apost. xvi. 17.) A trust therein through faith alone gives value to the outward

recognition of his name, not a knowledge thereof combined with enmity thereto. That the prohibition did not here take place was grounded on the condition of the unfortunate being, who required to be dealt with with greater circumspection. With this recognition two of the Evangelists have likewise combined the following supplication: *μὴ με βασανίσῃς*, "do not torment me." Were we here to look upon the man as the person speaking, the fear herein expressed of suffering being inflicted upon him by the presence of Jesus, would form a direct contradiction to the earlier impulse which drove him to the feet of our Lord, from whence it must certainly be assumed that he expected nothing but good from him. If, on the contrary, we assume that the devils spoke through the organs of the man, then the use of the singular number does not accord with the announcement which follows, that a plurality of evil spirits were active within him. That the latter supposition is nevertheless the correct one, is pointed out by St Matthew viii. 29, in the *πρὸ καιροῦ*, "before the time." These words, namely, have a strong bearing on the idea, that a time is appointed for the victory of light, at which time all the powers which belong to the kingdom of darkness shall be cast into the *ἄβυσσος*, "bottomless pit" (comp. on Luke x. 18). This idea, however, perfectly correct as it is in itself, appears in the demoniac as uttered in connection with the ravings of a madman. In the first place, confounding himself with the inimical power which tyrannised over him, he gives utterance to a supplication for his tyrant, at total variance with the most inward desire of his true self; for, there is mixed up with this speech, though uttered on the whole under the influence of the evil one, much which has reference to the habitual human nature of the sick man, to wit the phrase, *ἐπεὶ ζῶ σε τὸν Θεόν*, "I adjure thee by God" (Mark v. 7), which is in its nature in accordance only with the position of humanity. Nevertheless, in this very confusion in the words of the demoniac is demonstrated, in the completest manner, the truth of the narrative; as evil is ever contradictory in its own nature, so do the words of the unhappy man who has fallen into the power of the evil one appear to contradict themselves.

Our Redeemer, as has already been observed above, did not wish to dispel suddenly the powers of darkness, because this would not have cured the man, considering his present state of debility, but would rather have altogether destroyed his bodily

organisation in consequence of the severe conflict with the powers which were raging within him; for this reason Jesus wisely prepared him beforehand for complete restoration. Hence, Jesus asks him, after his first paroxysm was over, as has been before observed (according to St Mark v. 9; St Luke viii. 30), in order gradually to lead to the consciousness of his own personal individuality, τί σοι ὄνομα, "what is thy name?" but the maniac, persisting in confounding himself with the powers which were ruling over him, cries aloud, Λεγεών, "legion," and the Evangelists add, that this expression was the result of his conscious feeling, that more than one evil power exercised its influence over him. This feature, too, is pervaded by a terrible exhibition of the amalgamation of error and truth, as they crossed and strove against each other in the mind of this hapless being. This feeling was founded on the truth, that not only *one* part of his nature had become a prey to the influences of the demoniacal world, but that his *whole internal man* was exposed thereto (comp. Mark xvi. 9, where it is said of Mary Magdalene that she had seven devils; that is to say, that she had become the prey of the kingdom of sin according to all the faculties of her nature); but this true idea is expressed by the unhappy man in such a manner, that he appropriated to himself the name of Λεγεών, "legion." (St Mark v. 9 adds to it, ὅτι πολλοί ἴσμεν, "for we are many," making use therein very significantly of the first person.) This name was evidently borrowed from the most intimate experience of his senses. The contemplation of a Roman legion in close column, which he might have seen at one period of his life, the remembrance of this terrible instrument of Roman dominion over the world, of which the Jew was afraid more than of any other thing in existence, led him to the idea that an army of Satanic powers had thrown itself in close order upon him; in the internal destruction and desolation wherein he then was placed, he confounds himself with this host; he conceives it as a multifidal unity, and appropriates to himself the name Λεγεών, "Legion."¹ With the utterance of this name there

¹ Considering thus the multitude as a subdivided unity, the Rabbinical form of speaking may here be compared and examined into, according to which לְיָרֵיךְ, "Legion," signifies *dux legionis*, "the leader of a legion." (Comp. *Buxtorf. Lex. Talm.* p. 1123.) We may conceive that this hapless being imagined that he was possessed of an arch-demon (an ἀρχὸν τῶν δαιμόνων, i.e. "a prince of demons"), so that *potentia*, "the

is connected (Mark v. 10; Luke viii. 31) the reiterated request, (see St Matth. viii. 29) wherein the patient again speaks under the influence of the powers which tyrannise over him, not to deprive the demons of their ministry, and not to send them into the *ἄβυσσος*, "bottomless pit, *orcus*." (This expression is found besides in Rom. x. 7, and frequently in Rev. [ix. 1, 2, 11; xi. 7; xvii. 8; xx. 1, 3]. It is used like *γάταρος*, "hell" [2 Peter ii. 4], and *γίεννα*, "Gehenna," and corresponds with the Hebrew *עֵינַן*, "the deep, the abyss," which is, however, not used in the Old Testament in the signification of the place wherein the souls of the wicked are confined. In the Old Testament, the word *הֵינֶסֶת*, "hell," expresses in a more general sense what appears in the New Testament to have a more confined signification. The *ἄδης*, "hell, place of torment," of the New Testament," or the *φυλακή*, "prison, place of confinement, the assembling place of the dead," must no doubt be regarded as quite distinct from the *ἄβυσσος*, "bottomless pit" (comp. on Luke xvi. 28). This request, moreover, contains an admixture of many popular ideas, as may be perceived from the addition of St Mark, *ἐξω τῆς χώρας*, "out of the country." These words, no doubt, refer to the Jewish national opinion, that certain regions, or spheres of action, were pointed out, i.e. assigned to good as well as wicked angels; hence, the devil here wishes not to be removed from the sphere assigned to him. Were we to consider the transition from the one *χώρα*, "region," into another as impossible, the being driven away from the *χώρα* here understood would agree, i.e. would be identical with the being driven into the bottomless pit.

Ver. 30—32. Thus far the Gospel-history affords a highly finished picture of this transaction, which, indeed, appears related to, i.e. to resemble thus far, all the other narratives of this kind. But, henceforward, this narrative becomes connected with a circumstance, which presents the greater difficulties, because the New Testament affords no other of an analogous character, and which is much suited to invite to a mythical view thereof;¹ besides, however, the general reasons against this view, there is

power, the potentate," would make use likewise in him of the power of the angels subordinate to him.

¹ As the sows of the Gerasenes form in the New Testament a *σκάνδαλον*, "a scandal," and *πρόσκομμα*, "a stumbling-block," so does in the Old Testament the ass of Balaam (Numb. xxi. 28 sqq.) In both occurrences moral influences appear in connection with the animal world.

one which is peculiar to the case in question, and that is the particular and exact agreement existing between the three sacred writers, a circumstance which will be seldom found to exist in mythical elements, namely, it is recorded that a great herd of swine (St Mark v. 13 states the number at 2000) presented itself to the view of the demoniac,¹ and the latter, speaking under the influence of the inimical power, begs that the demons might be permitted to pass into the animals; Jesus complies with it, the demons pass into the swine, and the latter run down violently from a steep place (χερμύς, "a precipice") into the sea. The fact of the transition of the demons into animal forms affords here as great difficulties as that which forms the sequel thereto;² for, although the Scriptures everywhere acknowledge, i.e. admit of, an influence produced by the spiritual or moral world upon the physical, on the side of justice as well as on that of sin (comp. Gen. iii. 17 sqq. with Rom. viii. 18 sqq.), yet is the expression, εἰσερχομαι εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, "to enter into the swine," difficult, on account of its forming a sort of parallel with the εἰσερχομαι εἰς ἄνθρωπον, "to enter into man," which identifies too much the human nature with that of the animals. But, it appears besides inexplicable, why the Redeemer here gives way to the fixed idea of the invalid, for as such we might justly feel inclined to regard the request, and to which the Evangelists ascribe such actual consequences, that is, *firstly*, the passing into the animals; and, *secondly*, their destruction. To derive this

¹ The Evangelists do not seem quite to agree here, inasmuch as St Matthew says that the herd was μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, "a long way from them," whereas the two others say, ἐκεῖ, "there." Yet, the nature of the term μακρὰν, "afar off," must be viewed in its relative sense; the herd was on the same plain, which extended down to the lake (ἐκεῖ, "there"), but at a considerable distance (μακρὰν, "afar off,") from the place where this conversation took place.

² Doctor Strauss is, as indeed he is in all other places, ever ready to cry out: myths, myths, and nothing but myths! He smiles as soon as he perceives that any one is endeavouring to unravel existing difficulties. And yet does this great master in the art of denying confess, in his review of Kerner's work, that similar phenomena have occurred in recent times, and that he was unable to account for them on even the least probable or plausible grounds. What an assumption, then, to deny that similar occurrences may have taken place in the time of the apostles, because his powers of wisdom were incapable to comprehend them, for he has, indeed, no other ground for his assertion that these narratives of the New Testament are myths than their wonderful character. (Comp. the Jahrb. für wissenschaft. Kritik 1836. Dec. Numb. iii. sqq.)

from a rushing in of this hapless being, is as improper as it appears to be contradictory to the character of the narrative, to view the destruction of the animals as an *accidental* occurrence as regards the request of the invalid. But if we assume, that the destruction of the animals is, according to the views of the sacred writers referred to, to be attributed to the spirits, we then shall be unable to conceive a reason for the demons' passing into the swine, in order immediately to destroy these upholders of their ministry! I take the liberty, only on account of this obscure passage, to submit for investigation a few hints and suppositions, which may cause, perhaps, a further inquiry into the subject. In the *εἰσερχομαι εἰς τοὺς χοίρους*, "to enter into the swine," must be conceived, by all means, *an effect produced* upon the animal mass; but this effect involved, at the same time, the destruction of the animals, and this, too, merely on account of *those by whom they were possessed*. Regarded from the evil point of view, the object of their destruction might have been to restrain or narrow the power of our Redeemer in its beneficial ministry, and to prejudice the minds of men against our Lord, as was indeed the consequence (Matth. viii. 34). On the part of Christ there may be admitted a motive sufficiently strong; *firstly*, on account of the invalid, inasmuch as the paroxysm was mitigated by complying with the request, and because his cure was thereby rendered possible; *secondly*, on account of the owners of the animals, inasmuch as the earthly loss connected therewith might prove a trial to them, and hence give rise to their decision either for or against God and his cause; or, *finally*, if we assume that these belonged to Jews (which is not improbable, inasmuch as in the provinces situate near the borders Jew and Gentile usages were mixed up together), it must have served to them as a punishing warning, inasmuch as it was a culpable eagerness of gain which induced them to rear and keep animals that were considered unclean according to the law. By adopting such a view, the *moral* view of the case would be at least adhered to, which is an advantage of no mean character, inasmuch as thereby questions such as this are repelled, to wit, how Christ could have practised such an act of injustice as to destroy 2000 swine belonging to the people? This question is perfectly parallel to the silly remark, how God can be so unjust as to permit here or there the existence of the murrain? The plain answer to this is, that, wherever

cattle die, it is that man may be saved alive, in order to know that there is a God, and that whatever he does is right.

Ver. 33, 34. With the record of the destruction of the herd of swine, St Matthew connects the notice of the flight of those that kept them, and of the coming out of the inhabitants of the city to meet Jesus; concerning the state of the sufferer he makes no further mention. But St Mark and St Luke describe him in a highly clear and distinct manner, in his completely changed state after his recovery, which was preceded, no doubt, by a most violent paroxysm. He was seated quietly and clothed at the feet of Jesus, and was to the inhabitants an object of astounding admiration; they plainly recognised that it was only a sacred power, more than earthly, that could have effected the cure of a mind so disordered. In agreement with the two other Evangelists, St Matthew finally records, that the inhabitants besought Jesus that he would depart out of their coasts.¹ This (as in St Luke v. 8,) might be an expression of the φόβος τοῦ Θεοῦ, "fear of God;" but since our Redeemer leaves their place forthwith, this request may have been connected with the fear of suffering further loss through the Saviour of souls, as regarded their earthly goods or possessions, thus displaying a meanness of mental disposition, which must have deprived our Lord of the hope of being able to sow with advantage the seed of everlasting life in hearts so overgrown with the thistles and thorns of earthly covetousness. That which St Matthew leaves unfinished concerning the further fate of the recovered invalid, is, moreover, recorded by St Mark v. 18—20, and St Luke viii. 38, 39. He wished to follow the Redeemer, but the latter declined it, and, on the contrary, sent him back to his family, and *demand*ed of him to declare what God had done for him. For the ground for this commission (comp. on St Matth. viii. 4,) we must seek in the *recovered individual himself*. The deeper the evil had struck its roots within him, the more beneficial might it have been to him to show himself externally active and officious, inasmuch as much occupation with himself might have brought him once more to his former state of sinfulness. Such an activity, coupled with the desire to be

¹ The passage ἐξέλθαι εἰς συνάντησίν τινι, "to come forth to meet with such a one," except in Matth. viii. 34, is found nowhere in the New Testament. In the Old Testament the Septuagint has it more frequently, as, for example, Gen. xiv. 17, Deut. i. 44.

employed in a necessary and beneficial manner, would counteract his morbid inclination to a solitary life, which was probably closely connected with those vices that had laid the foundation of his becoming the prey of the evil powers. Finally, the preaching his own cure by the Messiah of Nazareth, would confirm him, as a matter of course, in the belief in the person of his Saviour.

§ 11. HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC.

(Matth. ix. 1—8. Mark v. 21; ii. 1—12. Luke v. 17—26.)

St Matthew still continues to represent Christ as a worker of miracles, without reflections and declamations, merely in the form of communications of great actions, calculated to fill the soul with a holy sense of astonishment. His calling by our Lord, it is true, appears to step in as something foreign to the subject (ver. 9 sqq.); but it is evidently related, not so much on its own account, as on account of the facts with which it is connected (ver. 11—13). The Evangelist wishes to intimate the character of the conflict which resulted between the decisions of the Pharisees, expressed at the δεῖπνον, "banquet," in the house of St Matthew, and the decision of the people concerning the person of our Redeemer; and he wishes, at the same time, to call attention to the way in which our Lord fulfilled his exalted mission in effecting such wonderful cures. The ver. 14—17 have certainly a less immediate reference to the connection of the 9th chapter; they seem to have been the result of the preceding narrative of the feast, and only serve, apparently, to complete the communications concerning the occurrences of that day, which, to St Matthew, was one of so great importance.

Besides, if we compare the *relative positions* of the first occurrence of this chapter of St Matthew, with the position it occupies in St Mark and St Luke, we shall then discover here, likewise, the most striking inconsistency existing between them. According to Matthew ix. 1, 2, the cure of the paralytic man immediately succeeds the narrative of the demoniac, as an event which took place immediately, or soon, after the arrival of Jesus at the other side of the lake. St Mark and St Luke, on the contrary, refer this occurrence to an earlier period. The former

connects this event with the history of the cure of the leper (Mark i. 40 sqq.); St Luke, it is true, connects it likewise with the same occurrence (v. 17), but he does it with the loose formula: *ἔγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν*, which signifies literally: "it came to pass on one of the days." The communications which follow the cure of the paralytic person in St Matthew, namely, concerning his calling, and all that is connected therewith, follow, it is true, in the same order in St Mark and St Luke; but the narrative of the woman suffering from a bloody hemorrhage, which here follows in St Matthew (ix. 18 sqq.) is communicated much later both by St Mark (v. 22 sqq.) and St Luke (viii. 41 sqq.) The difficulties arising herefrom with regard to the chronological position of the separate and individual sections of the Gospel, appear to us as altogether insurmountable.

ix. 1. St Mark, it is true, mentions the circumstance that Jesus returned to the western shore of the lake after his cure of the demoniac; yet his formula, *καὶ ἦν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν*, "and he was near the sea," renders his narration vague, and he connects it forthwith by means of a *καὶ ἰδοὺ*, "and behold," with the history of the daughter of Jairus. According to St Matthew, Jesus goes straightway to Capernaum (*ἰδία πόλις*, "his own city,") which is likewise mentioned by St Mark ii. 1 sqq. as the place whitherto the paralytic man was brought. The scene, which occurred in the house wherein our Redeemer happened then to be, is depicted carefully both by St Mark and St Luke. The hall, or vestibule, was filled with people; (*τὰ πρὸς τὴν θύραν*, "all about or near the door," scil. *μέρη* = *vestibulum*, "the hall or entrance,") so that the entrance was blocked up. Among those present, St Luke mentions likewise some learned Jews (*νομοδιδάσκαλοι* = *γραμματεῖς*, "doctors of the law," סופרים, "scribes,")¹ who were partly likewise from Judea and Jerusa-

¹ The Hebrew word סופרים, "Sopherim," here translated by the Greek word *γραμματεῖς*, and the English word *scribes*, means literally a *book-learned man*, i.e. a man of letters, the Hebrew word being derived from ספר, "a book," or perhaps rather directly from the Hebrew radical verb ספף, he numbered, as the סופרים, whose business it was to preserve and copy the manuscripts of the law and the prophets, carefully numbered every letter in each book, ספר, and section, ופרק, that not one letter, "jot, or tittle, might be added to, or taken from, the law till all be fulfilled." The Greek word is derived in a direct manner from

lem. But that these had come purposely to Capernaum on account of Jesus, is a supposition for which we can afford no sufficient motive. The ministry of our Lord is here represented partly as an instructive one, *ἔλάλει αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον*, "he preached the word unto them," scil. *περὶ τῆς βασιλείας*, "concerning the kingdom," St Mark ii. 2,) and partly a healing one. The words *δύναμις κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς*, "the power of the Lord was present to heal them," from Luke v. 17, are of a very obscure character. The word *αὐτούς*, "them," has no noun substantive preceding it, to which it might refer; we might regard it as an intimation that St Luke, in relating this occurrence, has inter-*γράμμα*, "a letter." But the *ספריים*, "scribes," among the Jews, held various employments connected with literature, they were the notaries-public, who registered all the public acts and the decisions of the magistrates. Shebna, the scribe, (*שֶׁבְנָא הַסּוֹפֵר*) spoken of in Isaiah xxxvi., is called in the Septuagint *Σομνᾶς ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δυνάμεως*, "Somna the scribe of the forces," a title which seems to correspond with our office of Secretary at War, or military clerk. In 2 Kings xii. 10, we find the title, *ספר המלך*, "the king's scribe," the passage containing these two words runs thus: *וַיַּעַל סֵפֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל וַיִּצְרּוּ* i.e. "Then came up the king's scribe and the high priest, and they tied up in bags and counted the money that was found in the house of the Lord." Here we have the office of Secretary of State (or rather of the Chancellor of the Exchequer) designated by the title of "scribe." But the scribes among the Jews were looked upon, generally speaking, as holy persons, whose business and duty it was to instruct the people in the laws of Moses; hence the disciples of the prophets and wise men were often designated *ספריים*, "scribes," more especially in the Chaldee, which we must always bear in mind was the language of the Jews from the captivity downwards, until, becoming corrupted by a mixture with the Syriac, it degenerated into Aramaic, or the mixed dialect spoken in Palestine at the time of our Redeemer. Thus in 1 Sam. x. 11, where the people exclaim, Is Saul also among the prophets *בְּנִבְיָאִים*; the Targum gives it *בְּסִפְרָא*, "Besophraya," i.e. among the scribes; indeed throughout the Targum the word *ספר* is used as the equivalent to *נביא*, "prophet."

Hence it is not to be wondered at that the scribes in our Saviour's time carried their heads so high, and expected to be called *רבי*, "master;" the word *νομοδιδάσκαλος*, "doctor, or teacher of the law," made use of by St Luke v. 17, is only another title for the scribes, who, at a later period, became universally designated by the title *Ραββί*, and the once honourable title of scribe *ספר*, was degraded to the mere transcribers of the Hebrew Scripture.—T. .

woven an existing document into his Gospel, without carefully revising those passages contained therein, which refer back to something which preceded it. But of much greater difficulty yet is the passage, *δύναμις κυρίου ἦν*, "the power of the Lord was." The referring of the expression *κύριος*, "Lord," to God, so that it might be completed by the addition of *μετὰ Ἰησοῦ*, "with Jesus," in the sense: the power of God was with him, so that he *could* heal, is not suitable, inasmuch as the completion would appear too hard. But referring it to Christ, the idea can be no other than that the healing power dwelling in him *manifested itself*, so that the pregnant or emphatic *ἦν*, "was," may perhaps be understood as requiring to be completed by *ἐργαζομένην*, "working.")

Ver. 2. Among other invalids there was here brought to Christ a man sick of the palsy (comp. on Matth. viii. 6), but who, lying on a bed, could not be brought in to him in the usual manner, on account of the great crowd which surrounded the house. Both St Mark and St Luke describe in an ample manner the means that the men who accompanied the sick man had recourse to in order to open a way to the person of Jesus. The whole description can only properly be understood by those who are possessed of some knowledge of the Eastern mode of constructing buildings, according to which access is gained to the flat roof either by a staircase attached from without, or otherwise from a neighbouring house. Yet, the disturbance of the upper surface, which it was customary to cover with tiles,¹ (*διὰ τῶν κεράμων*, "through

¹ The word *στέγη*, made use of by St Mark, in his account of this miracle, denotes any covering, especially such as keeps off the effects of the weather, wet, &c.; hence the passage *ἀπὸστέγασαν τὴν στέγην* may be translated, "they removed the covering." Those who, like ourselves, have travelled in the east, will be well aware that numbers of the better class of houses are furnished with an open quadrangle in the centre, which is enclosed entirely by the dwelling-house, and the offices built around it. This quadrangle is almost invariably furnished with an awning, which can be spread over the whole or part of the quadrangle, so as to keep off the suns or showers. In such a quadrangle of the house of Capernaum we imagine that Jesus and his disciples, with the scribes and Pharisees, and others of the people were assembled, when the man sick of the palsy was brought to him; and the door and passage into the court-yard from without, being blocked up to the multitude which thronged around it, they ascended by the stairs, which in oriental houses are frequently found on the outside, on to the flat roof of the house, and removing the awning lowered the sick man down into the quadrangle, literally into the midst, "*εἰς τὸ μέσον*," Luke v. 19. This is Dr Shaw's view (see Shaw's Travels, p. 208, 212); any one acquainted at

the tiles," Luke v. 19,) betrays nevertheless a rather adventurous character; nevertheless, the description should perhaps be considered in such a manner, as that the entrance to the house from above was merely somewhat widened. (The term ἀποσπράζω, "to remove the roof," is a strong expression to indicate the intention of the people strong in faith. The word χαλάω used by St Mark, = χαλάζω, "to let down, to lower," which is also frequently used by St Luke, to wit, v. 4, 5; also Acts of the Ap. ix. 25, xxvii. 17.—Κράββατος = *grabatus*, "a small couch," corresponds with the κλινίδιον, "a little bed, or couch" of St Luke). In these, although striking, and partly even alarming enterprises, the amiable, affectionate Saviour of mankind only beheld the faith of those individuals that caused them. The πίστις, "faith," of the sick man must be viewed as being *one* or synonymous with the faith of his helpful friends; he no doubt encouraged them, and communicated to them the *life* (of faith) that dwelt within him. It is evident that fixed doctrinal notions do not form here the nucleus, or internal substance of πίστις, "faith" (Comp. on Matth. viii. 1); on the contrary, this is contained in the internal sense of the necessity or help, which feels itself powerfully attracted towards that source from whence it expects to receive it. That the character of this feeling of necessity, as regards the cures, was sometimes merely an external one, may be seen from narratives such as that of St Luke xvii. 12 sqq. of the ten lepers. Ordinarily, however, the *external* feeling of necessity was coupled with the *internal*, and the latter *was always* supposed to be awakened by the former; and wherever this was not the case, there it was censured. That the internal receptivity was not wanting in this case, is evident from the words which our Lord immediately addressed to the sick man: ἀφίωραί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου, signifying literally, "for-

all with the customs and habits of the east will, no doubt, agree with him. To this will be objected by some the word ἐξορύξαντες, "breaking up, or breaking through," of St Mark (ii. 4), and the διὰ τῶν κεράμων κατέβηκαν αὐτὸν, "they let him down through the tiles," of St Luke (v. 19); but ἐξορύσσω implies a "forcing up," and some degree of force may have been required to remove the awning, and as St Luke evidently compiled much of his Gospel from existing documents, hence he may not be very accurate in the unimportant details. Bishop Pearce is of opinion that they broke open the trap door of the flat roof, and that they let him down through that. (See his *Miracles of Jesus Vindicated*, part iv. p. 77, 79, and his note on St Mark ii. 4 in his comment. on the New Testament.—T.

given to thee are thy sins." This address of our blessed Saviour was very probably the result of the expressions of repentance uttered by the man sick of the palsy, on which the expression, *θάρασε τέκνον*, "be of good cheer, son," given by St Matthew, would appear to bear. His peculiar sin might have caused in him the disease from which he suffered, and might have thereby created in him the feeling of his sinfulness. Nevertheless, even if this had not been the case, still Christ might have found himself induced to enter upon the moral ground thereof, through its external appearance, in order to prepare, through the cure of the external ailments, for the healing of the internal ones also. The connection of sin and disease, or suffering of some kind or other, is a necessary one. The Jews, as does the unspiritual man in general (comp. on John ix. 2, 34), failed only in so far, that they formed their conclusions concerning the *personal* guilt of the sufferer from any disease whatever, whereby were necessarily formed false and unjust judgments. The correct conclusion is to infer from the sufferings of single individuals the guilt of all, consequently, also, one's own; conclusions such as these create humility and meekness (comp. on Luke xiii. 4). But in whatever point of view we may regard the relative position of the sufferer, Jesus announces to him the *ἀφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, "forgiveness of sins." This must be regarded as the root of the new life that was to be kindled in the heart of the repentant sinner; and hence it is that this expression contains not only the abrogation of the punishment of sin, but the removal of the sin itself, through the communication of a higher and more holy power of life, which, it is true, would by degrees only, as indeed may be seen in the apostles themselves, transform the whole internal man. (The expression, *ἀφίενται*, "they are forgiven," [which is the Doric form] must be viewed, therefore, not in the sense of wishing, but as creative and efficacious. "thy sins *are* forgiven thee, I forgive them thee even now".) But with the weal of the sick man, our Saviour had likewise in view in those words the spiritual awakening of the people, and even of the Pharisees, as may be seen from the tenour of the conversation.

Ver. 3. The Pharisees had a correct notion of, or insight into, the nature of the forgiveness of sin; they saw therein a prerogative of God. For, in so far as this forgiveness is to be not only a good wish, or an empty declaration, but a *ministration of liv-*

ing efficacy, it necessarily presupposes a knowledge of the secrets of the heart, and a divine life-bestowing power, which is able to overcome all the powers of sin, and to transfer the soul into the element of the spirit. In so far, therefore, the church forgives sins (John xx. 23), because God dwells in her, and the men who take upon themselves to announce forgiveness do so only as the instruments of the forgiving power of God. But, inasmuch as Jesus here does not forgive sins in the name of another, but in his own name and by his own internal sovereign power; hence, it follows that their accusation would have been just, if, as they supposed, Jesus had been a mere man. They looked upon the forgiveness of sin as an holy act of God, which could be exercised by no man, without depriving God of the honour; and this they did quite justly. (Profane antiquity was unacquainted with the profound biblical meaning of *βλασφημία*, "to blaspheme," *βλασφημία*, "blasphemy." In the sense in which they viewed it, it only signifies, first, to speak evil of any one; and, secondly, to utter words of evil foreboding, thereby forming the contrast to *εὐφημία*, "to utter words of good omen." Monotheism alone leads to the true notion of blasphemy [corresponding with the *נִקְבַּ שֵׁם יְיָ*, "to blaspheme the name of the Lord,"¹ of the Old Testament], which denotes not only imprecations, and also blasphemies against God, but more especially the assumption of the honour belonging to the Creator on the part of the creature [John x. 33]). But, inasmuch as the Redeemer is the only begotten Son of the Father, hence he exercised even this divine prerogative, and blessed was he who believed in him, for he had experience of the healing powers of the Lord on his heart. Yet must it undoubtedly be granted, that similar ideas might have arisen in the mind of a person, although not decidedly impious, but rather more addicted to reflection, for the belief in the revelation or manifestation of God in Christ is something of a very stupendous nature. Such a real doubt; or, rather, such an uncertainty, would have expressed itself in a manner quite differ-

¹ See Levit. xxiv. 11, "Then the son of the Israelitish woman blasphemed the NAME *יִקְבַּ אֶת־הַשֵּׁם*," and verse 16, *שֵׁם יְהוָה מוֹת וְנִקְבַּ*, *וְיָמָת*, "and he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord shall die the death." The radical meaning of the word *נִקְבַּ* is to dig, to excavate, to pierce, penetrate, perforate; hence to pierce or wound, metaphorically to wound with the tongue, to depreciate the name, to blaspheme.—T.

ent from that which was adopted by the Pharisees; in them our Redeemer sharply rebukes such thoughts as being sinful. The reason whereof was no doubt this: the enlightening and exalted nature of Jesus, which met with its pure reflection in all child-like minds, touched likewise their hearts; but they withstood these sacred impressions, feeling, that by making room for them they would have to renounce their whole internal and external world. In adopting such an internal position as this, thus warring against God, they gladly availed themselves of circumstances which would have offered insuperable difficulties to pure minds, as welcome means, by the adoption of which they might be enabled to justify themselves in their *own* sight with regard to their habitual conduct. (The expression, *ἐπιθεὶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ἐν καρδίᾳ*, "to say within himself, in his heart," = *אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ*, "to say in his heart." St Luke has instead of this, *διαλογίζεσθαι*, "to reason, hold discourse," whereby is understood the activity of the *λόγος*, "reasoning faculty" = *νοῦς*, "mind." But the *διαλογισμοί*, "reasonings," are referred back, according to the constant Scriptural form of language, to the *καρδία*, *לֵב*, "heart" [comp. on Luke ii. 35]).

Ver. 4, 5. Jesus, penetrating their thoughts (Mark ii. 8 very correctly points out in him the *πνεῦμα*, "spirit," as the principle of the *ἐπίγνωσις*, "perfect knowledge"), rebukes their sinfulness, but yet does not treat them as incorrigible beings. Knowing the impurity of the human heart and the difficulty of faith, our Lord endeavours, by means of an external fact, to aid them to overcome it. The miracle here accordingly appears (comp. on Matth. viii. 1 sqq.), in its own true legitimate character, to support the impression made by truth upon the heart which is here presupposed, in order to lead to the knowledge that Jesus, the worker of miracles, taught *that which is true* not in his own name, but that he promulgated *truth* as endowed with power from above. The expressions *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι*, "to ponder, to think over," Matth. i. 20; Acts of the Apost. x. 19; and *ἐνθυμήσεις*, "thoughts, reflections, meditations," Matth. xii. 25; Heb. iv. 12, are nearly related to *διαλογίζεσθαι*, "to reason, hold discourse," *διαλογισμός*, "a reasoning, a conning over," as *θυμός*, "the soul or mind," to the *καρδία*, "heart." Only that these expressions have pre-eminently a bad by-sense. We may characterise *θυμός* as the disquieted and disturbed *καρδία*, and the *ἐνθυμήσεις*, as the impure actions resulting therefrom.)—The question of our Lord:

τί ἐστὶν εὐκοπώτερον; literally, "for whether is easier?" is calculated for the mode of viewing through the corporeal senses, on which also the miracle was to make an impression. According thereto, the external (miracle) is greater, and more toilsome, than the internal, that is, the forgiveness of sin; of course to the spiritual eye all this appears quite the reverse.

Ver. 6, 7. Jesus as the Son of man openly and expressly attributes to himself the *ἐξουσία*, "power," to forgive sins, wherein is expressed by implication (implicite) the declaration of his exalted nature. In the *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*, "the Son of man upon the earth," is contained the silent i. e. understood contrast to *Θεὸς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, "God in the heaven," so that the Messiah here appears as the representative of God on earth. In the idea propagated among the Jews, that the forgiveness of sin would form one of the rights or privileges of the Messiah (see *Schöttgen*. *Jesus, der wahre Messias*. Leipzig, 1744, p. 307. *Bertholdt* *Christol. Jud.* p. 159 sqq.) was clearly expressed the acknowledgment of the more exalted character of the Messiah; hence, it was the knowledge of the true nature of the *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, "Son of man," which our Redeemer here wished to awaken. (The difficulties to be met with in the construction of the passage, *τότε λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ*, i. e., "then saith he to the palsied man," [Matth. ix. 6], are removed by *Fritzsche* by means of the shrewd conjecture, that it ought to be read *τότε*, "therefore;" yet has he justly not ventured to adopt it in the text, inasmuch as all the codices are agreed on the reading. According to the usual reading, the words ought to be inserted in brackets, and must be viewed as being the interlocution of the Evangelist).

Ver. 8. The narrative observes a silence respecting the effect produced by the miracle on the Pharisees, because there was nothing of a joyful character worthy of record; but concerning the simple-minded multitude that were susceptible of the effects of that which is divine, it is observed, that they, marvelling, glorified God,—quite in accordance with the design of our Redeemer, praising the Originator of all that is good for the revelation of his glory in him. (Comp. Matth. v. 16). The concluding words, according to St Matthew, *τὸν δόντα ἐξουσίαν τοιαύτην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, "who giveth such power unto men," must not be regarded as that (*ἐξουσία*, "power," the cause being taken from the effect) the blessings emanating from God to men through

Jesus are therein praised; on the contrary, *οἱ ἄνθρωποι*, "men," = *γίνες τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, "the species, or kindred of men," implies, likewise, Jesus, as belonging thereto, inasmuch as the Divine power manifested itself so gloriously in the gift of performing miracles. Without being able to separate dogmatically the view which the mass of the people had respecting the person of Jesus, we may say, nevertheless, that this idea expresses its full sense of everlasting truth. For, certain as it is that, in the person of our Lord, the word of the Father was revealed, just so certain is it that Jesus was true man, and whatever divine fulness was manifested in him, *his* humanity became the portion of the human species in general. Instead of the *θαυμάζειν*, "to marvel," of St Matthew, St Mark makes use of *ἰξιστάσθαι*, "to be filled with wonder, to be amazed;" and St Luke, *ἔκστασις ἔλαβεν ἅπαντας*, "amazement seized on all." The latter expression is stronger, it implies a trance, that is, the state in which the soul is unconscious of present objects. (Comp. St Mark v. 42; Acts of the Apostles iii. 10). This expression has elsewhere a modified signification (comp. Acts of the Apostles x. 10), and is made use of when speaking of the state of prophetic ecstasy, in the same way as *ἐν πνεύματι εἶναι*, "to be in the spirit." In St Luke v. 26, *παράδοξα*, "wonderful works," = *θαυμάσια*, "wonderful works," corresponds with the Hebrew *תִּשְׁבָּחִים*, "wonderful works.")



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